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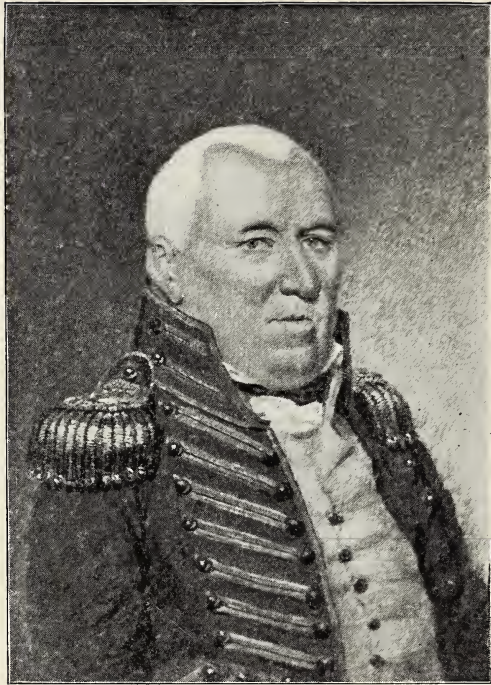




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GENERAL MOSES PORTER

Courtesy Danvers Herald

THE  
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE  
DANVERS HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

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VOLUME 15

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Under Direction of the Committee on Publication

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DANVERS, MASSACHUSETTS  
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1927

HARRIET SILVESTER TAPLEY  
Editor

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## OUR FIREPROOF BUILDING

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The time is drawing near when ground will be broken for the fireproof Memorial Hall to be erected through the generosity of members and friends of the Society. The memorial tablets which will be placed upon the walls of the auditorium are to be an especial feature of the building. Already many contributions have been received—\$300, for a name on the Founders' Tablet, where names of earliest settlers of this portion of old Salem of the seventeenth century will appear; \$100, for a name on another tablet in memory of residents of Danvers from 1700 to the present time.

Several inquiries have been received during the past year in regard to bequests for this purpose. Some whose incomes are small and who consequently do not feel able to contribute now are nevertheless anxious to honor an ancestor.

The Committee desires to state that information of an easy way to accomplish this will be given by applying to the Treasurer during the next few months.



# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE DANVERS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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VOL. 15.

DANVERS, MASS.

1927

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## GENERAL MOSES PORTER

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FROM A BIOGRAPHY BY REV. ALFRED PORTER PUTNAM, D. D.,  
ARRANGED FOR PUBLICATION BY HIS SON,  
ALFRED W. PUTNAM, ESQ.

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Up to about twenty years ago there stood on the Putnamville Road in Danvers, and within a mile of the village, an old weather-beaten farm house. It had been a Porter homestead for many years and it was in that house that Moses Porter, the subject of this sketch, was born on March 3, 1756, the year before Danvers was incorporated as a town. His immigrant progenitor was John Porter who came from England in 1634, and from whom has descended the numerous race which bear the name of Porter and are now well-scattered over the United States.

The boyhood of Moses was as uneventful and prosaic as you would expect under the circumstances of his birth and environment. Brought up on a remote farm in a region where the opportunities for education and social intercourse were meager, it might seem as though what we call "advantages" were peculiarly lacking. In fact, however, he probably acquired on that farm just the training of mind, muscle and character which fitted him for the long and arduous career for which he was destined.

Big events were in the making during Moses Porter's boyhood. It was shortly after he had passed his 19th birthday that the news of the fight at Concord and Lexington reached Danvers. Porter caught the spirit of the time and in May, 1775, he went to Marblehead, where he joined Captain Trevitt's Artillery Company. This company proceeded to Cambridge and became part of the Artillery Regiment which the Massachusetts Congress had raised and which was commanded by Col. Richard Gridley. Porter was a corporal in Trevitt's Company and with it was in the battle of Bunker Hill. Here began the military career of Moses Porter, which was to end only at death, forty-seven years later—a career

which, because of its length, devotion to duty, and services to the country at most critical periods, ought some day to be suitably preserved in a permanently recorded form.

At Bunker Hill, when the American forces were obliged to retire, Porter was one of a very few of Captain Trevitt's men who with their Captain succeeded in saving a cannon—the only one rescued from the fight. We next hear of Porter at the siege of Boston in 1776, still in Gridley's regiment now commanded by Col. Henry Knox; then at the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, and in the disastrous New York campaign.

When Washington, ably assisted by Knox, made his memorable crossing of the ice-choked Delaware on Christmas Eve ('76) Porter was one of that little band of heroes and took part in the victory of Trenton. He fought with the army in the memorable battles of the Brandywine (September '77) Germantown (October '77) and Monmouth (June '78). He was wounded at Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, N. J. He was one of Washington's Army at Valley Forge during the terrible winter of 1777-78. On January 1, 1778, Porter was made 2d Lieutenant in Col. Crane's third battalion of Artillery while the army was at Valley Forge. He was in the Rhode Island campaign conducted by General Sullivan at Newport and Tiverton (in August 1778), when the artillery under Col. Crane received especial praise for its effective service.

From 1779 until peace with England in 1783, Moses Porter was at West Point and in its vicinity, which because of its strategical value was deemed the Gibraltar of America. The winter of 79-80, the first which Porter spent at West Point, was extremely severe and the suffering which the troops endured almost rivaled the experience of two years before at Valley Forge. The control of the Hudson was as important to the British as to the Americans, for thereby they could insure their hold of New York and effectually cut off New England. That was why the plot of Benedict Arnold, who had acquired the command of West Point, to deliver the Point and all its fortifications, garrisons and stores to the enemy was deemed so perilous.

It will be observed that Moses Porter had been in the army and in continuous service from the beginning of the revolution to the very end. During that time he had taken part in many of the important battles and had shared many of the greatest hardships which befell the lot of a soldier in the Patriot Army. But notwithstanding this record, he was to devote

most forty years more to the nation which he had helped achieve its independence.

In 1784 the Revolutionary Army was disbanded and Congress authorized the raising of a regiment of 700, which was the basis of the American Army. Two years later it was increased to 2040 men, including a battalion of artillery composed of four companies. Moses Porter (who since the close of the war had been stationed at Castle Island in Boston Harbor) joined the artillery battalion in 1786, under Major Doughty at Fort Harmer on the Muskegum River, where it joins Ohio and opposite Marietta, soon to be founded.

The following year, 1787, was a momentous one in our national calendar, for it saw the adoption of the constitution and the passages by Congress of the famous ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory with the immortal provision excluding slavery from its soil. This territory embraced what is now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. While Moses Porter was on duty in the wilderness at Fort Harmer, other Essex County men with their associates, were laying plans to invade the Great Dominion.

The whole story of the Northwest Territory from the year 1787, when the ordinance was passed, and for the following twenty years is a wonderful record of struggle and development, and it constitutes one of the many romantic episodes in our national history. The first step taken toward the development of this region was the formation of the Ohio Company in 1786, of which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler of Hamilton, Mass., were the leading spirits. This company purchased from Congress one and one-half million acres of land in what is now Ohio, at the price of one dollar per acre. The promoters at once began to organize bands of men and women to emigrate to and settle in the new country—the first of these bands making its rendezvous in Danvers.

The first company started out for its distant home, and after many months of toiling through the wilderness and encountering many perils, landed at a point on the Ohio river opposite Fort Harmer on July 2, 1788, which they named Marietta in honor of the beautiful Queen of France, Marie Antoinette. Here was laid the foundation of the great state of Ohio, and the enterprise was one of the milestones in our history. Marietta is directly opposite Fort Harmer, where, as it has been stated before, Moses Porter was stationed at the time of the arrival of Rufus Putnam and his fellow emigrants.

Soon others followed the lead of Rufus Putnam, and a constant stream of daring and adventurous men and women from the eastern states set in for the new country. The dangers which beset the early settlers in Ohio were many, the most perilous of which were the Indians. The whole country was infested with them, and many of the most savage of the tribes held sway in this territory. The most powerful tribe was the Miamis, whose central village was Miami Village, the site of what is now Fort Wayne, and there were the headquarters of their chief, Little Turtle.

General Arthur Saint Clair, a brave soldier and a man with a good military record, was the first governor of the Northwest Territory, but, as events proved, he was not the man to cope with the Indian situation. It was deemed essential, in order to establish peace and safety in the region, that the power of the Miami tribe should be effectually crushed. To that end several small expeditions were sent against them, but were unsuccessful. Then General Saint Clair himself led a big force, but was disastrously defeated at a point which afterwards was called Fort Recovery. Lieutenant Moses Porter was in this battle.

After Saint Clair's defeat, Washington summoned General Anthony Wayne as the one man in the country who could be relied upon, because of his vigilance and military skill, to accomplish that in which others had failed. It is said that Little Turtle, when he heard that Wayne was in charge of the American troops, counselled the Indians to make peace, but unfortunately for them his advice was not heeded.

In the fall of 1793, Wayne, having prepared his army, marched against the Indians, and, having met them in battle at Fort Recovery, administered a most crushing blow to them. Moses Porter, who, the year before, had been raised to the rank of Captain of Artillery, did his share in the great events of that episode. This fight was an extremely important one, for it led to the treaty of 1794, negotiated by John Jay in behalf of the United States with England, whereby England agreed to withdraw her troops from the territory which had been assigned to the United States by the peace of 1783 at the close of the Revolution. England had not lived up to the terms of that latter treaty, but on the contrary, instead of withdrawing from the territory assigned to the United States, had postponed such withdrawal, and had exerted her influence with the savage natives to war against the Americans.

One of the points which the British withdrew from at this time was Detroit. Moses Porter, after the treaty of Green-



field between Wayne and the Indians, took command of the fort at Detroit and there hoisted the American flag for the first time on the soil of Michigan. Then shortly afterwards Porter is found in command at Fort Mackinac on the island of that name, the Indian name of which was Michillimackinac. Except for a visit to the east and to his home in Danvers in 1797, Porter spent several years on this barren island lying just north of the Michigan peninsula. His services here were in no wise spectacular and there was none of the glamour of war about him, but it was a work which required the utmost vigilance in guarding the country and protecting the early settlers and the fur traders. While in Michigan (in 1797) Porter was advanced another grade in the line of promotion, to Major.

Major Porter's next command was at Fort Niagara, at the western end of Lake Ontario. This fort was commenced in the year 1679 by LaSalle, the French explorer, and it had had a checkered career during the two centuries of constant warfare between the French, Indians, and British. This was one of the posts which the British had agreed to deliver up in 1783, but they did not, in fact, surrender its possession until thirteen years later.

The service at Niagara also was unspectacular, but it was exacting and important. The command included not only Fort Niagara itself, but also various dependencies in the region, or what was generally known as the Niagara frontier. The work consisted in gathering timber and firewood, building boats, repairing public works, opening new roads, and protecting the grounds occupied against the encroachments of the river. The construction, under Porter, of a road along the east bank of the Niagara from the fort to Black Rock was regarded by the War Department of utmost importance, because it opened communications between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

The fact that Major Porter was placed in command at this point on the frontier, charged with the duty of constructing the necessary works which have been mentioned, is sufficient evidence of the confidence which the authorities placed in his ability and industry. Major Porter continued in command at Fort Niagara and in that region until 1805.

The scene now shifts, so far as Moses Porter is concerned, from the northernmost part of the Union to the extreme south. There were troubles brewing in the great Louisiana territory which had been ceded by France to America in 1803. The Spaniards, who were numerous in Louisiana, and who

were never reconciled to the French or American control of the country, were hostile in their attitude towards us, and the Catholic Priests were active in prejudicing their minds against the authority of the United States.

Because of the threatening condition of affairs in the south and the need of troops for that region, Major Porter was ordered to New Orleans in 1805. To travel from Fort Niagara to the Gulf of Mexico in those days was an undertaking fraught with peril and hardship. The route which he took was by land marches to Pittsburg, thence by boat down the Ohio past Marietta, where but a few years ago he had been one of those who welcomed General Rufus Putnam, then down the Mississippi to Fort Adams, his destination, which was in the southwestern corner of Mississippi and about three hundred miles north of New Orleans.

The friction existing between the constituted authorities and the Spanish inhabitants in the southwest was largely due to the cession by Spain to France in 1800, of Louisiana, which was not disclosed immediately, and by the later cession from Napoleon to the United States of this vast territory. Louisiana, which had belonged to Spain before France had acquired it, was well populated with Spaniards, and they resented greatly the sovereignty of the United States.

The chief point of dispute between the Spaniards and the Americans, and hence the principal cause of the threatened clashes, seems to have been one of boundary. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase the western boundary of that territory was ill-defined. The American claim was that the boundary line was the Sabine river, which now marks the western limit of Louisiana and flows between that state and Texas. The Spaniards claimed that the true division line was the Red River some distance to the east. The Spanish agents were constantly stirring up ill feeling and persuading the inhabitants that the United States was attempting to extend unwarrantably its territory. The Catholic Priests, especially at Natchitoches, lent their influence in the same direction. This, in brief, was the condition of affairs which caused the government much concern and prompted it to concentrate in the southwest such forces as were available.

As has already appeared, Moses Porter was one of several commanders to be sent to this region, it being thought that the most important part of his work in the north had been accomplished, as he had finished his constructive work of building forts and roads and had established comparatively peaceful relations with the Indians. In October and Novem-

ber, 1805, we find him in command at Fort Claiborne, an important post in the Natchitoches district. A letter from Secretary of War Dearborn to Porter shows the important work which was committed to his charge. It is too long to quote here. Suffice it to say that in substance it charges the Major with the duty of maintaining the American rights, but cautions him against undue show of force or unnecessarily irritating the Spaniards. The duty designated in this letter was one which required a military man's force and promptness together with a diplomat's tact, and it is a striking illustration of the confidence which the War Department reposed in Major Porter—confidence which he never abused, and which was often afterwards expressed in succeeding crises. We have a letter in reply written by the Major to the Secretary, in which he shows how well he executed his commission. This latter letter also tells the woeful state of unpreparedness in which our forces found themselves at that time, a condition which our country seems destined to be in at every crisis.

The Spanish and the Americans never came to any open clash, but for over a year hostilities seemed imminent, and probably actual fighting was only avoided by the firm stand which we took and the ceaseless vigilance with which we guarded our possessions.

That the United States was determined to maintain its authority is apparent from a letter of Secretary Dearborn to Major Porter, dated March 19, 1806, in which Secretary Dearborn says, "I know you will be on the alert and will not suffer any improper encroachment with impunity. . . . . Also there exists no disposition on the part of the United States to commit any hostilities on any of the Spanish posts or troops . . . . . We cannot admit them to establish any post to the eastward of the river Sabine . . . . . You will assure the inhabitants that, notwithstanding anything the Marquis di Casa Calvo or any other persons may say to the contrary, the United States will never abandon by treaty or otherwise one inch of the territory they possess, but should the officers of Spain attempt by force to decide the question of boundary, they may rest assured that they have much to fear and nothing to hope from such an attempt." All this shows that the men in authority a century ago were not too proud to fight.

It sufficiently appears from correspondence and official documents that the military force which we had concentrated in the neighborhood deterred the "Dons," as they are referred to in Secretary Dearborn's correspondence, from asserting their pretended rights by a show of force. There is constant

correspondence between Secretary-of-War Dearborn and Major Porter and between the Secretary and General James Wilkinson, who was Commander-in-Chief, to indicate that Moses Porter was relied upon to strengthen and protect the different posts, to treat with the Spanish leaders, and to safeguard, as best he could with the meagre forces and supplies allotted to him, the interests of the nation. During the larger part of the period from April, 1805, to October, 1806, Porter was stationed at and around Natchitoches, and he was at that place when another and what appeared at the time more serious danger threatened the very integrity of the Government.

Aaron Burr, who, although having rendered valuable service to his country, and having been honored by it with the Vice-Presidency, had become discredited and politically ruined after his duel with Hamilton. Yet, notwithstanding that, he was popular with large classes of the people, especially with great numbers of the Democratic or Jeffersonian party. His restless, scheming, and ambitious mind had formed the daring plot to establish an empire in the southwest, dismember the Union, and coerce by bribes or threats the people in the western section of the country to join his standard.

It is astonishing, as we look back over a century, to realize that such a lawless and desperate undertaking could have been espoused by any considerable number of persons, and yet such was the fact. Burr, by force of his remarkable personality, his adroitness in speech and manner, his art as a tempter, and his political skill, enlisted the sympathy and financial support of a considerable number of persons during his travels up and down the country while he was furthering his scheme. One of those who fell a prey to his fascinations was Harman Blennerhassett, who with his wife lived a retired life on an island in the Ohio river near Marietta. He was an Irish gentleman whose fortunes were on the wane and who readily yielded to the picture which Burr painted of fame and fortune within his grasp if he would but join the conspiracy. Undoubtedly General Wilkinson, although holding the position of Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces, was secretly conspiring and plotting with Burr, and there is reason to believe that he too would have turned traitor if he had been convinced at the last moment that the enterprise would succeed. Correspondence in cipher between Burr and Wilkinson leaves no room for doubt on this point.

Burr's expedition actually started in 1806. The plan was to descend the Mississippi with a flotilla of boats, gathering



up reinforcements on the way, proceed to New Orleans, where, as Burr had discovered by previous visits, the fortifications were in a sad condition, capture the city, plunder the banks of about two million dollars which they were holding, take possession of the forts and the artillery, and establish there a new civil and military authority. From New Orleans, if events warranted, the daring dreamer planned to march to Mexico, where he would establish the capital of his new empire.

While this expedition was floating down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, General Wilkinson became alarmed, and, convinced that it was doomed to failure, betrayed the plan in a message to President Jefferson, who immediately issued a proclamation which sent a thrill of indignation and horror through the land. Wilkinson now became most ardent and vociferous in his efforts for the preservation of the Union. He asserted that the nation was in danger and that New Orleans was to be attacked, and conveyed the impression to the authorities at Washington that the safety of the city was at stake.

When this storm broke, Moses Porter was at Natchitoches, as has been stated before. It was necessary, or it was believed to be necessary, that strenuous efforts should be made to defend New Orleans. Wilkinson hastily patched up a peace with the Spaniards, and sent Moses Porter to New Orleans to defend the city, instructing him, "You are to repair, mount, and equip for service every piece of ordnance large or small which you can lay your hands on." The orders go into detail as to the steps to be taken in defending the various forts in and around the city. Of course, our Major, as always, promptly responded to the order, and arrived in New Orleans in November, where shortly other troops besides those which accompanied him followed.

Notwithstanding the collapse of the Burr movement and the fact that New Orleans was never attacked, Moses Porter spent some time, probably a year, in the city superintending the engineering work of strengthening its old defenses and building new ones.

The peril of treason had hardly passed when the infant republic was threatened with danger from the outside. For some years there had been constantly increasing friction with Great Britain and more and more resentment at her high-handed conduct toward us. In 1807, the danger of war loomed large. England's course toward us in the ruthless seizure and search of our vessels upon the high seas and the

impressment of their seamen into her service was becoming intolerable, and the popular feeling was distinctly bellicose.

But once again we were unprepared for a conflict, especially with the greatest naval power in the world. We had twelve hundred miles of unprotected frontier along the British provinces and a thousand miles of seacoast to defend. During the period that immediately followed the close of the Revolutionary War, the old forts were generally neglected, and many of them had passed into a state of uselessness and decay.

So it was imperative, while the danger of armed conflict with a powerful naval adversary threatened, to do all that possibly could be done to fortify our coast. Congress passed an act to that end, and it was necessary, of course, to designate some skilled officer and engineer to take charge of the work. Moses Porter was the one selected, and he was charged by the Government with the responsible and arduous duty of superintending this work along our coast from the extreme eastern point of Maine to New York and the middle states. It seems to me that this appointment attests most emphatically his worth and value as a devoted, dependable officer and one whom the Government had found by years and years of experience, could be entirely relied upon.

Consequently, in 1807, Porter faced northward, probably marching overland through Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. That same year we find a record of his becoming a member of the Military and Philosophical Society, the object of which, was the promotion of military science.

The latter part of 1807, after his return from the south. Porter spent in and around Boston with at least one visit to Washington, and the following year saw him fully entered upon the work of making preparations for the defense of his country by strengthening harbors and the coastline from Maine to New York.

The first object of his attention was Boston, in the fortifying of Governor's Island in the Harbor. When that work was completed, he visited Kennebunk, Wiscasset, Damariscotta, Saint George, and Penobscot. During this time he was in constant communication with Secretary Dearborn, and was working out the details and the plans which the Secretary had caused to be prepared for the defense of the various points named. We know that Porter was still in Maine as late as May, 1809.

The following year he was ordered to Newport, R. I., to take command there and superintend and direct the work of

fortifying the Harbor, which included building a sea wall. At Newport there were two forts, Fort Wolcott and Fort Adams. (A report from Major Porter to Eustis, who had become Secretary of War, shows that the work at Fort Wolcott consisted of "two gun houses constructed; materials collected, and now preparing for others at Fort Adams; gunners' implements provided; more timber from Charlestown received, now being made into gun carriages, which will soon number sixty-nine." And he adds, "More work will be given to Fort Adams.")

The next place which seems to have received Porter's attention was Fort Trumbull, New London, Conn. Here let me quote from a letter by Secretary Eustis, written about this time: "The merits and service of Major Porter are well known to me, and had an intimation been given that he would relinquish his present rank and command for a higher grade in the light artillery, there is no officer or citizen whose pretensions would have been deemed superior, no one whose claims could have been considered more eminent." Accordingly, he was appointed by the President, Colonel of the Regiment of Light Artillery, as appears from a letter to him signed by Secretary Eustis, dated March 6, 1812.

After a return to Newport for an examination of the fortifications there, he visited New Bedford, Salem, Marblehead, Cape Ann, and points in Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine. On June 3, 1812, Colonel Porter was placed in command of the fortifications and troops "south of Boston, in Massachusetts, and in Rhode Island and Connecticut."

Immediately after the reverse of the Americans under General Van Rensselaer, at Queenstown in Canada, in 1812, Moses Porter was ordered to Niagara and in due course reached that scene where he had been stationed in 1805, before he had been summoned to the lower Mississippi; and shortly after his arrival he is put in command of the troops between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, succeeding General Smyth. This force was called the Army of the Centre, the headquarters of the Commanding officer being at Fort Niagara. General Dearborn was the Commander in Chief, with his headquarters at Albany. On February 23, 1813, Secretary of War Armstrong believing that the British forces at Fort Erie and Fort George were weak and that Porter's was "respectable," ordered the latter to attack those places, adding to his order "To an old soldier like yourself, it is unnecessary to go more into detail. You know what you ought to do and you will do it." This expedition was neces-

sarily postponed because it was discovered that a traitor among the Americans had disclosed the plan to the enemy.

During the winter of 1812-13, the physical condition of the American troops was pitiable and Porter was faced with the problem of caring for soldiers who were nearly naked, as well as watching the alert foe. "The troops," he writes Dearborn, "must soon be barefoot; at present we have not more than one shoe per man on hand, and those even are nearly worn out. Shirts and pantaloons are nearly as much wanted."

Soon (April, 1813) the offensive was resumed. General Dearborn assembled a land and naval force at Sackett's Harbor on the New York shore of Lake Ontario preparatory to an attack on York (now Toronto). The town was captured and the victors planned to attack Fort George. The fleet was augmented by a large number of ships which had been built. The entire force having assembled at Four Mile Creek, a few miles east of Fort Niagara, proceeded on May 27, 1813, to Fort George. There followed a regular battle. General Dearborn was too ill to participate, but the vanguard was led by Colonel Winfield Scott in the land assault and the artillery was commanded by Colonel Moses Porter. The issue was successful, the fort was captured, Scott and Porter being the first men to enter and the former hauled down the English flag. The enemy lost two hundred and seventy killed and wounded and six hundred prisoners, while the American loss was one hundred and fifty-three. In General Dearborn's report to the Government, Porter was mentioned with Scott as deserving of highest praise and honor for his conduct and service.

The next important event, so far as our subject is concerned, was a plan devised by the War Department for the capture of Montreal and the conquest of Canada. This was, of course, an ambitious undertaking. General Dearborn retired as Commander of the Northern Army and was succeeded by General James Wilkinson, who theretofore had been in command of the Gulf region.

Colonel Porter had been placed by the Department in command of Fort George after its capture. But Wilkinson assigned that post to Scott, and Porter accompanied the expedition down the St. Lawrence against Montreal, which started October 2, 1813, on which day Porter was raised to the rank of Brigadier-General. There was an advance engagement at French Creek between some light troops and heavy artillery and British vessels. The latter were forced to retire



after considerable loss. General Porter had command of the artillery in this engagement.

The main army, in spite of great destruction to their ships by a furious storm, proceeded down the river eighteen miles below Ogdensburg, on the New York side of the St. Lawrence, then crossed to the Canadian Bank and met the enemy at Chrystler's Field where the most important fight of the campaign occurred. The result was a draw. Here, as at French's Creek, Porter directed the artillery.

The expedition petered out principally because of the refusal of General Wade Hampton to join it with reinforcements. Wilkinson abandoned his purpose and went into winter quarters. Then after a brief time in command at New York, while General Dearborn was absent, Moses Porter was summoned to assume command at Norfolk, Virginia, where he was destined to render the chief service of his life.

At the time General Porter arrived at Norfolk, the British were threatening the capital, and their fleet under Rear Admiral Cockburn was plainly within sight, off Hampton Roads. This fleet had been sailing the waters of Chesapeake and Delaware Bays and along the Atlantic coast from Delaware to Georgia, destroying vessels and villages, stealing slaves, and plundering property. It can well be imagined the state of consternation which all of this produced upon the inhabitants.

In June of that year, a vigorous attempt was made to capture Norfolk, its fortifications and navy yard. The attack, however, was successfully repulsed by General Robert B. Taylor, who was then in command of the district with a very small force. Disquieting news was also received that the English forces would be greatly augmented. Norfolk was deemed, perhaps, the most important position for the enemy to capture next to Washington.

It was at such a time and under such circumstances and at such a place that General Moses Porter was called. (And surely it was a high tribute to him that he was selected by the Administration out of all the military men in the army for that post at that emergency.)

We know from a letter from the General to his brother Zerubbabel, written July 2, 1814, that he was hourly expecting attack by the British. He says that the enemy's force is very considerable and daily increasing, while his is composed of four thousand inexperienced men and one thousand recruits, and that he has only one hundred and fifty thousand rounds of ammunition. Although the British menace had

been threatening the Capital and the places in its vicinity for many months, the Government had been singularly negligent to guard against the impending peril. Finally, however, at all too late a date, the Administration seemed to wake up to the realization that Washington and Baltimore were in danger. President Madison began to take steps to the end that better protection should be afforded the Capital, and General Winder was placed in command of Washington and its immediate vicinity. Furthermore, the Administration in its alarm made requisition upon the governors of certain states for troops.

About the middle of July, much to General Porter's dismay, another British squadron arrived, and he is informed that a British army of twelve thousand is soon expected.

As opposed to such a force, Porter's total was five thousand men. And now to make bad matters worse, disease began to appear among the little American army, and it spread with alarming rapidity. We have a letter from the General to the Secretary of War, written on the twenty-fifth of July, in which a very mournful picture of the condition of affairs is set forth. Porter was no alarmist and as far from being a complainer as it was possible; therefore, such representations as he makes must be deemed entirely accurate. He says that "one hundred of the militia are sick. Of a select corps, two-fifths are on the sick list;" and that the "only really well disciplined and healthy militia regiment will be relieved in a few days by new draft." The disease which mostly afflicted the troops was typhus, and apparently it was incurable. To add to the agony of the situation, he was entirely without funds, there being not enough money to pay the troops or to provide the ordinary and necessary articles for their comfort and equipment. The same bad condition of affairs existed at Hampton, Powhatan, and other posts in the vicinity, which were included in the Fifth District, which was the designation of General Porter's command.

Although all of these facts were constantly communicated to the Government by Porter, in plain, firm, but entirely respectful language, his communications received scant attention and apparently elicited very little interest in Washington, incredible as it would seem. For example, in a letter to the Secretary of War, Porter says: "I beg leave to again mention the state of our quartermaster's department. He has not a farthing of money. We found ourselves unable to purchase even the necessary plank for a well."

Another difficulty which he had to contend with was the

fact that most of his troops were the militia from different states, and the governors of those states often considered themselves superior in authority over such troops to the Federal officers, and the troops themselves so regarded their status. As he says, "Men who have been tolerably drilled are succeeded by such as are perfectly raw. . . . . The Militia Colonels who have recently arrived and who from their rank must take charge of regiments are utterly unqualified for command. This fatal and incurable evil is, I understand, the effect of some provision respecting seniority adopted by state authorities."

Could a commander be placed in a more trying and perilous position? In front of him was the powerful fleet of the most powerful navy in the world, carrying, as it did, a large force of well-trained veterans of the Napoleonic wars. Here he was, guarding the most important point on the coast with a handful of raw troops, a third of whom were sick, without any money, without any hope of adequate reinforcements, and without even the moral support of his own government. And back of him was the Capital of the country, which he knew, even if the President and his cabinet did not realize, was in imminent danger.

On August 16, Porter reports the arrival of "twenty-three additional sail of the enemy," which was under the command of Admiral Cochrane with a large number of Wellington's veterans. Cochrane's squadron joined Cockburn's fleet.

A few days after this reenforcement of the British squadron, the enemy began the attack which resulted in the battle of Bladensburg. Part of their fleet ascended the Potomac, while the larger part of it went up the Chesapeake Bay and thence up the Patuxent river. Bladensburg lies between the Patuxent and Potomac, six miles northeast of Washington. Here, on August 24, were the British under the command of General Ross and the American forces under General Winder. The battle which ensued at Bladensburg was a most humiliating and disgraceful defeat for the Americans. Not only did the army, after an insignificant loss, retreat, but they left the Capital entirely unprotected. The President and his cabinet fled, and the British captured the city and burned all of the public buildings. Alexandria was spared a like disastrous fate only by submitting to the most exacting and degrading terms. Shortly after a movement was made upon Baltimore. General Ross was killed, and Cochrane's fleet retired before the fire of Fort MacHenry.

And now in the midst of defeat and humiliation and dis-

grace, all eyes were turned towards Norfolk. Apparently the Government had begun to heed Porter's appeals, because we see from a letter to his brother, written two days after Bladensburg, that his force had been augmented to seven thousand. He has just heard of the capture of Washington, and exclaims, "I abominate the British, but can but detest the policy which has left our country in this deplorable situation."

This month of August, 1814, was one of the most critical in our early national life, and surely it is well that there were some men in command who could be entirely depended upon. That Moses Porter was one of those men, the following letter from Commodore Charles Gordon on the twenty-eighth of August is testimony: "And it is for you that this immortal honor (to curb and check the progress of the British) is preserved. With your militia all the time under such constant drill and your officers under rigid discipline, you cannot fail of success." An to the same tenor is a letter from Aide-de-Camp Gholsan to Porter. The writer, after having apparently conferred with the President and the Secretary, states that "the Executive seemed to confide entirely in yourself, and appeared plainly satisfied that everything had been and would be done that was proper."

On September first, James Monroe, who was Acting Secretary of War, as well as Secretary of State, and who so soon was to become President himself, wrote to Porter, warning him that Norfolk was one of the principal points which the British desired to capture, and predicting an advance by the enemy on Baltimore and Richmond. He ended thus: "Be on your guard, prepared at every point and in all circumstances to repel the invader." And that is what Moses Porter did and had done and continued to do everywhere and at every time. It must have been pretty trying to a commander to have received such an exhortation as that just quoted when, according to his own report made the next day, we learn that the troops under his command are unusually sickly, that there was not one cent on hand to replenish the quartermaster's department, which was in a deplorable condition, as also the paymaster's department. But Mr. Monroe is warned that unless money can be had shortly, the General cannot be answerable for the consequences.

Soon news is received at Norfolk that the enemy's squadron had passed our batteries on the Potomac, and that the next object of attack might be either Norfolk or Richmond, and Porter should be prepared to meet them at either point. In consequences of this information, additional troops were



quickly ordered from Virginia and North Carolina to proceed to Norfolk. While the requisition upon Virginia seems to have been reasonably complied with, the Governor and his subordinates in North Carolina failed to do their duty until considerable time had elapsed. At the time that Porter was ordered to be prepared to meet the enemy, whether it attack Norfolk or Richmond, his force numbered just short of eight thousand, one-fourth of whom were sick, and a great proportion of whom were raw recruits ignorant of their duty.

The British, in fact, made an attempt on Baltimore, which happily was unsuccessful, and the expected attack on Norfolk never materialized. Had the British known of the true situation at Norfolk as to General Porter, doubtless that place would have been visited by them, because the Secretary is informed that the formidable land and naval forces of the enemy might compel the main body of Porter's army to retreat, but he suggests in such an event the garrisons at Craney Island, Fort Nelson, and Fort Norfolk should hold out to the last extremity. On this point Porter requests the Secretary's instructions, but we do not hear that he ever received them.

Soon the enemy's fleet appears at the mouth of the Patuxent river, and Secretary Monroe adds to his letter, "Great confidence is entertained, should the enemy attack you, that you will obtain a triumphant success over them. The enemy will soon be in your neighborhood." Apparently General Porter was far from being flattered by such a letter from the War Department, considering the circumstances and difficulties with which he was contending and the singular lack of appreciation and support which was accorded him by the constituted authorities. His spirit is well shown by the following passage taken from a letter to the Secretary: "You will pardon me for saying that the strength of the city lies not in its ramparts. Eight or nine thousand British regulars opposed to six or seven thousand raw recruits and drafted militia are fearful odds."

(When the North Carolina militia finally turned up, the War Department asserted that it was unable to arm them, and suggested that most of them be disbanded. Porter, however, somehow succeeds in finding arms for most of them.)

Cheering news now came to the little garrison of the victory which Andrew Jackson achieved at Mobile, which apparently had remarkable influence in reviving the drooping spirits of the soldiers, and a letter about the same time from Thomas Gholsan to Porter, written from Washington, announces that "the enemy's ships are leaving the bay in such

numbers as to show an indisposition on his part to pay you a visit." And soon Porter is able to advise the War Department that all but one ship of the enemy has put out to sea.

Nevertheless, the danger was formidable and the distress within the command was increasing rather than improving. Early in October correspondence shows that it was cold weather, the militia were thinly clad, many without even a blanket, and they were in great need of barracks. And still there were no funds to supply these needs, and the General asked the Secretary this pertinent question: "As you have authorized the construction of huts for covering the troops without saying anything about the means, permit me to ask you how they are to proceed."

It may be truthfully said that the voluminous correspondence between Norfolk and Washington during the eight months when Moses Porter was in command of the former place, teems with representations of the utmost distress among the troops and the most urgent calls for money and other assistance, while the replies to him utterly ignore these points, but contain many expressions of confidence, orders to do things which cost money, and above all to prepare to meet attacks. This burden fell heavily upon the commander, and subjected him to constant and grievous embarrassments, not the least of which was the mortification of seeing the credit of his country so low that it was difficult for him to borrow in its name money sufficient for those things which were absolutely necessary. He knew perfectly well that the winter was fast approaching and that Norfolk would be a most advantageous place for the enemy to quarter for the winter, and this knowledge with his ignorance of the real intention of the enemy and the feeling of responsibility which the constant adjurations from Washington kept ever in his mind caused the anxiety of his position to be just as keen as it had been earlier in the season when the enemy's fleet was actually in sight.

Another difficulty confronted him when there arose a mutiny among some of the soldiers in consequence of their not having received their pay. This disturbance was quelled after forty soldiers had been duly punished, but it was strong evidence of the dissatisfaction of those under him. His problem was to increase and discipline his forces, quell all insubordination, and maintain authority, superintend the interests of his extensive department, strengthen his command at every point, and be at any moment prepared for

battle. But his reward was that so long as he was stationed where he was the honor of the nation was safe.

Apparently, shortly after the mutiny referred to, the Government furnished sufficient funds to pay the soldiers five dollars per man, and also enough to buy lumber for the huts, which weeks before Porter had been jauntily ordered to build. But there was no improvement in the physical condition of the soldiers, disease still making terrible havoc among them, and the death rate being alarmingly high. We even find complaint that it was difficult to obtain coffins for burial, because of lack of funds.

The strain which General Porter had been constantly under during the eight months of his command at Norfolk, coupled with his advancing years and poor health, began to tell upon him, and he represented that, if it was possible and compatible with the public interest, he should appreciate a transfer from the arduous post at Norfolk to some other one where the demand upon his strength would be less. He was, on November 25, 1814, relieved of the command, and ordered to Utica, New York, to sit as a member of the court to try General James Wilkinson. (This court did, in fact, sit at Troy, instead of Utica, as has been previously stated. It is pleasant to know that General Porter's last official act at Norfolk was the pardon of six men who had been sentenced to death.)

So ended the eight months of General Porter's command at Norfolk in the most memorable year of the War of 1812. It was without battle or bloodshed, yet it was a great and decisive victory. It was his to hold the forts and man the batteries of this district and to protect the towns, cities, and shores of its bays and rivers against the most powerful fleet of the most powerful maritime country of the world. That fleet, during all of these weeks and months, stood ready at any moment to swoop down on the posts and settlements of this important district. Surely it would have been an immense advantage, could they have silenced the guns of Norfolk and Fort Nelson and Craney Island, for that would have placed at their disposal the navy yard, Powhatan, and Richmond—the whole region would have been at their mercy. Such a calamity would have been as disastrous as the destruction of Washington itself had been.

Why did not the enemy make such an attack? What meant those long weeks and months of watching and not acting? There can be but one answer. The British did not

make the attack because they did not dare to. They knew, or believed, that Norfolk was prepared for them, and it is fair to assume that they also knew that a different man was in command at Norfolk than the one who had been in command at Washington when the battle of Bladensburg had been fought. It was Moses Porter's vigilance, his reputation, his courage, and his steadfastness which dissuaded the British from making at any time during those long anxious months the expected attack. It was his crowning achievement and a service to the country which any soldier might well be proud of. Is it not singular that it has not received any adequate comment by any historian? As a striking illustration of this, there is a history of Norfolk itself, a book of five hundred pages, in which Porter is not even mentioned.

Porter had been assigned to the command at Washington instead of Norfolk by the War Department, but southern political influence succeeded in allotting the command of the former place to General Winder. The War Department preferred Porter at the National Capital. Had its view prevailed, there is every reason to believe that the results would have been different from what they actually were. Secretary of War Armstrong, who many years afterwards published a book called *NOTICES OF THE WAR OF 1812*, in commenting upon the fact that General Porter was not put in command at Washington, states, "The error of the first occurrence in this campaign belongs exclusively to the Administration, and will be found in the selection made of a commanding general, not on the ground of distinguishing personal service or knowledge, but simply on the presumption that being a native of Maryland and a relative of the Governor, Brigadier Winder would be useful in mitigating the opposition to the war and in giving an increased efficiency to national measures within the limits of the state." But perhaps Porter was needed at Norfolk quite as much as at Washington. The fate of Washington wounded the national pride. The fall of Norfolk might have proved, in some respects, a greater disaster.

We know that Porter had reached Utica on the first of January, 1815, because on that date, there is a letter to his brother in Danvers, in which he describes somewhat his journey, which required twenty-four days to accomplish. He says that "After sticking in the mud, breaking down, over-setting, and halting, seven days on the way, I reached Albany the twenty-eighth, and this place the thirty-first."



While in attendance on the court at Utica General Porter received the most distressing and unexpected accounts of the situation at Norfolk. Sickness and death were rampant, the death rate running from two to three hundred a month. This, he was assured, was causing panic and consternation among the citizens of Virginia. Such news as this, coupled with the wish of the Administration, which was conveyed to him, that he return to his old command, strongly inclined him to do so, but apparently the consciousness that his health and strength forbade deterred him from returning to the south.

Peace was concluded with Great Britain in 1814. In consequence of the peace establishment of the army, Porter is found again at the head of the artillery. In the early part of 1815, he made one of his infrequent visits to Danvers. Soon he was ordered to the command of military department No. 1 with headquarters at Greenbush. After a very short stay there, he proceeded to New York to take command of department No. 3, and then he went to Philadelphia in command of the fourth department.

As the time goes on, his letters complain more frequently of the state of his health, and he even expresses fear that he may be obliged to quit the service. It is plain that in 1817 and 1818 the old veteran is beginning to break up.

In the summer of 1817, while the General was at Philadelphia, he received an interesting letter from his brother Zerubabel, describing the visit of President Monroe to Salem. It seems to have been a great occasion, for we are told that, "There appeared a general joy to the assemblage, which was as great as Salem ever saw." From Salem the Chief Executive went to Beverly, Danvers, Wenham, Ipswich, and Portsmouth, "escorted by the Salem Horse and many gentlemen from Salem and Danvers." General Porter continued in command at Philadelphia during 1817 and for four or five months of the following year. His life there seems to have been very pleasant. He was thrown with agreeable people, and, had it not been for physical infirmities and apprehension over his pay, his lot at that time would have been a happy one.

Speaking of money, it might be well to note that early in 1818 the Government compensated him for loss by robbery which he had sustained eight years before when he had been stationed at Fort Wolcott, R. I. It seems that a soldier under his command had stolen from his bedroom his trunk, con-

taining, with other articles, a land warrant of two hundred acres, which he had received from the United States in 1790, and which he had been accustomed to carry with him in all of his travels. More recently an orderly had deserted him, and, with his departure, took the General's pocketbook containing six hundred and ninety dollars, leaving him destitute of a single dollar. Although General Porter had promptly put in a request for a new land warrant, Congress, with its usual promptness and dispatch, took eight years to pass the necessary act which would place this veteran once more in possession of that reward which he had earned in his Revolutionary service, and, be it remembered, that during those eight years, Moses Porter had been fighting and laboring for his country.

About the same time Congress passed a law, evidently very poorly drawn and obscure in its meaning, affecting the pay of brevet officers. General Porter wrote to the paymaster in Washington, asking information on the subject, in which he said, "I wish to understand whether I am curtailed of my brevet pay and emoluments by law, in which event it would be no object to remain in command of a department, and I should immediately solicit the indulgence of a furlough." The paymaster's reply states that the law had not yet been construed by the Secretary of War (John C. Calhoun), and it would therefore be idle for him to express an opinion that its provisions were decidedly vague and indefinite. Mr. Calhoun perhaps naturally gave the law a strict construction, and came to the conclusion that unless a brevet brigadier-general actually commanded a brigade, he was not entitled to brevet pay, and no officer of the corps of engineers was so entitled except the one commanding at West Point.

It is surely a shameful and depressing thought that the United States of America should pass a law which abbreviated the small pay of a man who had served it so long and faithfully, and that it should take eight years for the United States of America to re-issue to this man a land warrant which had been stolen from him while in its services, but the old hero of forts and frontiers was yet destined to experience a more despicable instance of his government's ingratitude.

Moses Porter's next and last command was of the second military department with headquarters at Boston. Here, also, his life seems to have been very pleasant and comfortable. He was a good liver. He liked his wines and brandy, as did most of the military men of his day. He maintained

his servants, horses, and carriages, and had quite a penchant for fine silverplate, but he was not extravagant in his expenditures nor luxurious or indulgent in his habits. Through his whole life, he had been prudent and careful to invest such money as he was able to save from his meagre pay so that in his declining days he had accumulated a competency.

An interesting episode was an invitation of the selectmen of Boston, which reads, "The selectmen present their respectful compliments to General Moses Porter, and ask the favor of his company at the visitation of the public schools on Wednesday, the eighteenth instant." After stating where the visitation would be, it concluded, "The company will proceed to dinner at Faneuil Hall at half past three o'clock."

We also find an invitation from Cambridge, which reads, "The college government would be happy to see you at the commencement, and will provide you with a proper seat in the meeting house."

In 1819, while at Boston, the General was astonished to receive from the third auditor of the Treasury notification that several items of his account at various dates for years gone by had been disallowed and charged to him personally until he should satisfactorily explain them.

It had been Moses Porter's duty, for many years, to purchase supplies for his posts, to handle Government money, and generally to take charge of such financial matters as a commander naturally would attend to. His accounts had never been questioned before this time, and indeed there was no occasion for questioning them, for he was scrupulously careful, economical, and honest. It is well nigh incredible that the United States Government should bring up such charges against such a man in his old age.

Here are the items which were complained about as being charged to his account until he produced evidence that they were necessary:

Officer's knife .....	\$ 1.38
Candles .....	6.00
Book .....	60.00
Stove .....	38.00
106 cedar posts .....	159.00
Transportation .....	10.00
Transportation .....	96.00
Quarters .....	557.00

His reply is addressed to Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary. It

is such a reply as you would expect from an old soldier whose pride had been wounded. He explains each item in detail, telling why it was necessary, and the explanation is as complete for the dollar thirty-eight cent knife as it is for the largest item, for quarters. Speaking of the stove, which the Government accepted and kept, he says, "The injustice of compelling *me* to pay for it while *they* keep it is too manifest to require proof." In regard to the item for rent or quarters, he says, "No objection having been made to the rent for a period of more than three years, it is a matter of surprise that I should now, for the first time, be asked to refund a sum which has never passed through my hands, and for which I know no reason why I should in any manner be made accountable."

Many of these items which the Government at this late date haggled over were ordered at the time when the Government itself was turning a deaf ear to Moses Porter's plea for money with which to pay and feed his army. There is fine dignity in his final word to the Secretary. "I should not feel so sanguine in any appeal to you on this question, was I not conscious that for a period of the last forty-four years, which has been the term of my military life, and during which I have been entrusted by my Government with various and important commands, I was never before suspected of lavishing the funds subjected to my control. It is with proud satisfaction that I reflect upon my humble endeavors to preserve the public property and maintain the interests of my country whenever it has been within my power to promote either, and I cannot now believe that the decision of the accounting officer, in an *ex post facto* operation, will be sanctioned by you to take from my private purse more than nine hundred dollars."

Of course the Government was influenced by the explanation, but, with that maddening propensity for quibbling which has ever been characteristic of Washington, the department still insisted upon Porter's returning about one hundred dollars to it, and, as if determined that this veteran of forty odd years' service should not labor under the impression that his Government was grateful, again the next year raised the question of his extravagances in purchasing spy glasses for different posts which he had commanded at different times. Again he was called upon for explanation, and again he gave an explanation which ought to have satisfied the most captious third auditor of the Treasury that ever lived.



The next year, 1820, Secretary Calhoun approved of the rent item so far as the past was concerned, but instructed the General that he must not in the future pay a larger rent than forty dollars a month, which would result in the saving of seventy-five dollars annually to the Government. This last absurd and petty fling occurred about eighteen months before the General's death.

It is disagreeable to record such facts, and probably the history of our country teems with similar cases, but, nevertheless, one cannot help feeling a sense of indignation, even after a century has passed, over such ingratitude.

In July, 1821, General Porter moved his headquarters from Boston to Watertown, which town was his last home. Here he remained in command of a department, but gradually his powers failed him, and the command which he exercised was more nominal than real. As the months went by, his mind, as well as his body, became enfeebled, and on occasions his family were hastily summoned to his bedside. On April 14, 1822, Moses Porter, still in the service of his country, died.

## EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF RUFUS CHOATE

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BY FITCH POOLE.  
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WRITTEN FOR THE PRESS IN 1869.  
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The decease of this eminent man has in no place made a deeper impression than among the people of South Danvers. It was here that he commenced his brilliant career, and this is the place where he received his first public honors. Our recollections of his personal appearance are that of a tall, genteel looking man, with a strongly marked face, keen, black eyes, a profusion of long, curly, jet black hair flowing about his neck, his shirt collar turned over a la Byron, rather jaunty in his movements, a rapid walker, and his whole appearance strikingly suggestive of originality and genius.

Such was his appearance to the merely external observer. His acquaintance was easily made, as he was always affable and unreserved, and could readily adapt his conversation to any company in which he might be placed. One could not be long in his presence without having his first impressions more than confirmed by the display of a cultivated and powerful intellect. The same richness of language, luxuriance of illustration, hyperbolic statement, and keen, piercing humor, which marked his later life, were, if possible, more manifest in his youthful efforts.

Although he must have had a just appreciation of his own powers, and a more than prophetic vision of the position he was destined to attain, he entered at once and heartily into all the business and social interests of his neighbors as if he was always to be among them. In an article in the New American Cyclopaedia, written by G. S. Hillard, it is stated that Mr. Choate resided here only two or three years. This must be a mistake; and although we have not the dates at hand to confirm our statement we think it must have been nearer five or six years. We state the period from a recollection of the different times and places of his residence, both before and after his marriage, and from the fact of his representing the town in the Legislature two years, which must have been after a residence previously as long. One, at least, if not two of his children were born here, and he was not married until he had resided here several years.

We have said that he identified himself with our social concerns. At the time of his coming here there existed a

Society for mutual improvement, called the "Literary Circle." This was an association of ladies and gentlemen, in some respects of the character of a modern Lyceum; with the addition of literary and scientific discussions, orally, or by written communications. The Society originated under the auspices of Rev. Mr. Walker, Dr. Andrew Nichols, J. W. Proctor, Esq., and others, and its meetings were numerously attended.

Mr. Choate engaged warmly and with great zest in promoting the praiseworthy objects of this "Circle" by occasional discussions, addresses, and service on committees. His criticisms on the written communications of members were made with freedom, tempered with such courteous compliment, that, while the writers were instructed, none could take offence. One of his addresses at this period was upon the Waverly Novels, which were then rapidly proceeding from the pen of their gifted author. We have never listened to Mr. Choate with greater pleasure than while delivering this gorgeous eulogy of the writings of the wizard of the north. The writer of these productions was then the "Great Unknown," but the acuteness of the lecturer did not fail to draw aside the veil which partially hid his features from the public eye.

While here Mr. Choate delivered two 4th of July orations; one before the Danvers Light Infantry, in which corps he enrolled his name as a member, at Goodridge's Masonic Hall, and another in the Old South Church, at a celebration by the citizens. Could these productions be recovered, we doubt not they would compare favorably with the very best of his later efforts, and we trust that he will have a literary executor who will yet give the public the benefit of these and many others of his literary and forensic remains. He was also here initiated and became a member of Jordan Lodge of Ancient Freemasons, and served successively as Junior Warden and Senior Warden in that body. It was while residing among us that he divulged his political sentiments. It was at the time of the old political parties of Federal and Republican, but when these terms began to lose their old signification. The people were intensely and almost unanimously Federal in their proclivities, and as Mr. Choate preserved a mysterious reserve on the subject of party politics, considerable curiosity was manifested to know how he would declare himself. It was known that he was fresh from the office of Judge Cummins, who was an active and zealous leader of the Re-

publicans, and it was also known that his most intimate friends here were active Federalists, and that he was the affianced partner of a daughter of a member of the Hartford Convention. Just on the eve of election, when, we believe, Dr. Eustis was the Republican candidate for Governor, an officious and prominent Federalist was determined to have his doubts removed by a direct application to Mr. Choate, who blandly informed his visitor that he should vote the Republican ticket! This was just before the "era of good feeling," and the two parties quietly amalgamated under the Presidency of Mr. Monroe, so that Mr. Choate's political prospects were in no wise damaged by his choice.

It was not until nearly the close of his first Legislative year that his voice was heard in debate, but then his position as an orator was at once secured. Neither in the State or National councils has he been a frequent speaker; and hence it has been inferred that this was not his chosen arena. This theory is confirmed by the zeal with which he entered on the duties of his profession. No matter how insignificant the case in which he was engaged, he would make the same effort in preparation, and exert the same power in arguing it as if great interests depended upon the result. We have often witnessed, in his petty trials before a Justice of the Peace, bursts of lofty eloquence, which seemed strangely and almost ludicrously inconsistent with the importance of the case. If a "poor devil" was caught in a scrape, and he was engaged to defend him, no matter whether he expected a fee or not, he would so identify himself with his client that it seemed as if his case was his own, and it must indeed be a desperate one if he did not obtain a favorable verdict.

It is a pleasant coincidence that Mr. Choate commenced business here in an office on the estate immediately adjoining that where our eminent townsman, George Peabody of London, first began his successful career. His office was a small "seven by nine" room in an old house situated on the estate now occupied by Dr. T. A. Sweetser. He then removed to a larger room in a building which stood on the spot now occupied by the Union Store. From this place he removed to a room in Osborne's building, where he remained until his removal to Salem.

Mr. Choate has never failed to regard with special favor the people of South Danvers, and they have watched with admiration and a just pride, his brilliant career. It was from them he received his first public honors. It was mainly



through the exertions of his friends here that he obtained his nomination and subsequent election to a seat in Congress. Hon. Benj. W. Crowninshield had for many years been the stereotyped Representative of Essex South District. It was at a time when political parties had ceased to exist. No fault could reasonably be found with the incumbent, who had long been familiar with public affairs. It became a question of personal preference who should receive the nomination, and the friends of the veteran Representative were startled to find the young and needy aspirant named as the successor of the venerable and wealthy Ex-Secretary of the Navy. The contest for the nomination was short but successful for the young advocate, and the struggle at the polls still more decisive. This result, it is not invidious to say, was attained principally by the exertions of the late Hon. Jonathan Shove, Hon. R. S. Daniels, and Benj. Goodridge, Esq., who personally canvassed every town in the District. The vote of Danvers on this occasion was at that time unprecedentedly large,—414 for Choate and 28 for his opponent. As before remarked, Mr. Choate retained to the last a deep interest in the welfare of his former townsmen and not only the gentlemen above named but many others could testify to the cheerfulness and alacrity with which his valuable counsel has been afforded while the proffered fee has been refused. At their request, a few years ago, he promptly consented to give the Dedicatory Address at the opening of the Peabody Institute, a production worthy of the occasion and of the literary fame of its author.

It remains now to speak of his personal habits. He was industrious and studious, rising early in the morning, and busied with his books at his office, long before the day laborers went to their work. He was accustomed to take long walks, frequently in the pastures and without a companion. In these lonely rambles his full and melodious voice was sometimes heard by other strollers in those solitudes, themselves unseen, who were thus unexpectedly made auditors of the young forensic speaker. Doubtless the partridges and squirrels of this lonely region, (the sheep pasture rocks) have often been startled by the tones of that voice which was wasting "its sweetness on the desert air," and which was thus preparing to sway listening senates and charm the ears of his countrymen.

Mr. Choate was a regular, although not a constant attendant at church. At first, and until about the time of his

marriage, he attended at the Unitarian Church, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Sewall. He afterward went to the Congregational church under the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Walker and subsequently Rev. Mr. Cowles. The same restlessness of manner, or nervousness, which was so marked in Mr. Choate, was even greater in his youth than in his later years. Everywhere, at home, abroad, in the court room, or at the church, but mostly when in deep thought, he was accustomed to run his slender white fingers through his long jetty hair and toss about in wild confusion his curly locks, which, however, always fell into comely order when his hand was withdrawn.

His love of books is well known and was as strong in his younger days as at a later period, although his collection was not then large. Like many other young professional men, his means did not allow him to purchase largely, as he was already in debt for his education and his small but well selected law library. More recently he has been a large purchaser of choice authors, and at auction sales of foreign books he has been accustomed to give orders for the purchase of such as he found on the catalogues. On an occasion he gave particular orders to his bookseller to buy certain books which he had marked on the catalogue of foreign books. Some were limited to 5, 10, 15 or 20 dollars, as the case might be, but there was one book that he *must* have. "Buy that book at *any* price" said he with emphasis. The result was that he obtained the coveted volume for the magnificent sum of 12 cents.

We have extended this rambling article much beyond our original intention, and yet we might have spoken of many traits of his character as yet untouched. Of his early friendships, his fascinating converse, his quaint remarks, his gift at repartee, his keen sense of the ludicrous, his polished irony, his geniality and imperturbable good humor and his kindness of heart. All these and many others are remembered and cherished and their fragrance remains although he has departed.

South Danvers, July 25, 1859.



## REBECCA NURSE AS A PIONEER

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BY FRANK A. MANNY

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Read at a meeting of the Rebecca Nurse Association,  
June 26, 1926.

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In 1492 America was discovered. In 1692 a considerable portion of the American people broke out in an epidemic of a malady common to all times—the evil way of thinking with our emotions and prejudices and letting them carry us on to actions we afterwards have reason to be ashamed of. Perhaps the one bright aspect of the witchcraft delusion is the fact that as a people we came to see what we had done in a reasonable light and have never tried to justify ourselves for it or seek for excuse. Almost everything in our history that is shady we have attempted to change by throwing upon it a favorable light kindled by our desire to continue to think well of what we have done because we did it. For the persecutions of the days of 1692 fortunately we seek no justification.

It is unfortunate that we have not been consistent in this and still symbolize the period by a figure of an old woman on a broomstick and even when we attempt a historical pageant the representation leaves upon the mind of the uninformed observer the suggestion of blame for witches who may have dealt with the evil one rather than clear cut condemnation for our Babbitt ancestors who went wild because those around them lost their heads.

There is no danger just now that we shall let Americans suffer in any comparisons we make of them with people of other lands. Our tendency seems to be even to put phosphorus in our paint so that any picture of our virtues will shine by night as well as by day. But to be fair it is well to remember that during the seventeenth century 200 witches were hanged in England, 1000 were burned in Scotland and in that land we so often set up as an example of freedom from restraint—France—1,000 were destroyed in a single diocese because they were charged with witchcraft.

At the Phi Beta Kappa dinner at Harvard, yesterday, a member of this year's graduating class read to us from Emerson's address given before the association in 1837 in order that we elders might remember that many of the problems of scholarship and the way men in general regarded it were

much the same nearly a century ago as they are now. When we read the accounts of the witchcraft trials we find that the flappers of that day were certainly as objectionable as any of their descendants of the present time are at the same age. Seldom does our latent belief in the necessity of corporal punishment seem so well justified as it does when we recall the silliness of these hysterical adolescents and the greater folly of their parents. The men, women and girls became a mob with few cases of individual sanity—the records are silent about the boys and we may hope that they deserved some actual commendation. In the present outbreaks at Concord where youth fears we shall too soon be free from war, at least according to newspaper accounts it is the girls who are most militant for militarism!

A calm estimate of the forces in action in "the mauve nineties" of the seventeenth century cannot entirely clear some members of our noted Mather family—Increase and Cotton—for a suspicion that they worked out some of the devices used by political bosses of other ancestry who have made Boston and other cities notorious in later days. Certainly those of us who stand for a strict interpretation of the constitution in these days cannot but regret the precedents set at the time in the way of executive and judicial anarchy—always more dangerous than the cruder forms used by lesser people.

Two weeks and two days ago the first of the victims was hanged. Three weeks and two days from now—July 19th—will be the anniversary of the passing of Rebecca Nurse and of four other women. No one else who fell in this series of engagements between prejudice and good sense lasting on into December, stands out more clearly and creditably than does our ancestor. In a sense she has become the symbol of the whole distressing experience. In the warfare against darkness and unenlightenment in state and church her memory is often invoked. We need no "Unknown Soldier" to commemorate the conflict of those days—even a group of her contemporaries had the courage to put themselves on record in an attempt to save her when the sacrifice of her life was called for by those who arrogated to themselves the determination of what patriotism and Christianity should mean.

When I say these things about Rebecca Nurse I have no desire to make her seem other than she was. Her type was very different from that of Anne Hutchinson or Anne Bradstreet, for instance, and she had little opportunity or ex-

perience to make her stand out conspicuously in many situations open even then to women. But in such a matter as protest against injustice as witnessed in the list of defenders registered on the rock over against her grave—she would have had no hesitation as to what her position would be. I like to think that among her more than twenty thousand descendants, many beyond the quota we might expect from probabilities have been pioneers in the various movements since her day in which men and women have seen that they could only preserve what the fathers and mothers have earned for them by adding to these treasures of freedom of thought, word and speech the results and effects of manifestations of common sense, courage, sanity and wise judgment when neighbors and even leaders in church and state were carried away by prejudice, hysteria and fear of change. It is my impression that Rebecca Nurse would never have met harm or occasioned harm because she was standing still in the wrong place at the wrong time.

### YE DO NOT KNOW MY HEART

(Rebecca Nurse in goal awaiting her execution, July 19,  
1692.)

“My old wits cannot hold the time,  
The weeks slip by,  
‘Tis long since first I lost my count of months  
Now scarce recalled by blooms in wood and field.

Hepaticas were gone,  
Bloodroot and windflower  
Nodded to me as I journeyed on to goal.  
I saw not clearly  
Scarce do I remember  
The loved ones in our home  
Save stripling Samuel  
With whom so oft I wandered in the wood.

He loved the flowers  
And as I saw them nodding in the breeze  
I spake to them of him.  
My warders drew aside and whispered  
(“‘Tis to her familiar  
That the witch would speak!”)  
I cried aloud  
(“Ye do not know my heart”)

Sometimes I think myself again a lass  
In Yarmouth town.  
'Tis English primrose April  
Or May with whitening hedge.  
Then we sail across the deep to Salem town  
Young Francis Nurse—  
So like the young lad Samuel!  
Comes courting me  
From Skerry's Cove to Towne's Neck.  
And then our home  
Where Francis made his trays.  
Last on the farm  
Where all about the flowers marked every month.  
With them I climbed the hill of every year  
Joying in their gifts  
'Till goldenrod would show the downward slope—  
A sign of coming winter and old age!

And then my days of goldenrod were past  
No longer could I bear the burdens that had been my joy  
And I was sad until the little Samuel came.  
He drew me to the woods again  
Once more to seek spring flowers.  
He gave me heart again—he knew my heart!

He loved the columbine in May,  
We saw the meadow rue grow tall,  
The locust scent came on the breeze—  
We watched June sunsets  
And listened to the thrush.

What bloom would he now bring me  
Were I at home once more?  
Down in the glen by the water side  
Rich cardinals are in flower.  
'Tis well that I should pass with them—  
The flowers of passion!  
I could not wish to pass with pye weed and with golden  
rod—  
In the days of the flower of the heart's blood hue  
The hillcrest still ahead  
I go to him  
Who always knows my heart!

## THE RIDERS

(The goings on in the heart of a woman who dwelt near Gallows Hill. She is all unstrung by the events of the day of the execution of Rebecca Nurse and is thrown into a panic when late at night she hears the sound of the hoofs of horses on the road that circles up the hill.)

Tlot, tlot, tlot, tlot, tlot, tlot!  
Through the night come riding  
Oh, what is now awry?  
I see them on the hill top  
Four men are riding by! 1411724

Oh, this has been like Judgment Day  
Each hour has taken toll  
On yonder hill a Christian saint  
Has yielded up her soul!

They hanged her on a gallows tree  
And she had done no wrong.  
I cannot sleep, I cannot think!  
The night is long; so long!

They threw her body in the pit  
Those priests and Pharisees,  
Denied her Christian burial  
Denied her children's pleas.

Tlot, tlot, tlot, tlot, tlot, tlot!

Oh, yonder come the horsemen!  
I fear my time has come!  
Oh God! I cannot pray to Thee  
My heart, my lips are dumb!

Nay 'tis the sons of the one who was hanged—  
Samuel, Benjamin, Francis and John!  
What seek they here at midnight?  
What errand are they on?

They leave their horses  
They stand by the pit,  
They look up to Heaven,  
The earth is moon lit.



Now they come forth  
 They carry a burden!  
 A litter of fence rails  
 And this is their guerdon—

Their mother despised  
 By the law and the church  
 Is honored by them  
 For her did they search!

God send us men!  
 God send us men I heed!  
 God send us brave men!  
 For this our time of need!

#### 400,000 BRICKS

For sale by the Subscriber, 60,000 of them are in Kettle Cove, Gloucester; the residue, with a quantity of Tiles & Clapped Brick are in his yard, near the Salem Iron Factory.  
 JOHN FOWLER.

Danvers, April 11.

—*Salem Gazette*, Apr. 11, 1811.

#### NEW BELL TAVERN

Lemuel Parker respectfully informs travellers and others that he has taken the TAVERN recently occupied by *Richard Kimball* in Danvers, South Parish, near Salem; where Entertainment may be had at all times on reasonable terms. Orders cheerfully received, carefully attended to, punctually and expeditiously executed.

Danvers, June 16, 1809.

—*Salem Gazette*.

## CAPT. SAMUEL PAGE AND HIS VESSELS

BY HARRIET S. TAPLEY

*(Continued from Volume XIV, page 30.)*

### SCHOONER CLARISSA

The schooner Clarissa, of 59 tons, was built in Danvers in 1787. She was insured by Captain Page, Mar. 21, 1787, for £150 through Lee & Cabot and £150 through Brown & Thorndike, all of Beverly, to sail from "Danvers, and during the season as a Fishing Vessel, and until her Fishing Voyage shall be Completed and ended in the ensuing fall or winter." Joseph Knowlton was the master.

Settlement of Joseph Knowlton & Co., first fare, 1787, number of fish, 7374; weight, 112 $\frac{1}{4}$  Quintels at 16/; 43 Quintels at 18/6; cash received for blubber, 63/. Amount of sales, £132.14.6; deduction, great general, £55.8; vessel's  $\frac{1}{4}$  part, £19.6.5; shoreman's  $\frac{1}{8}$ , £9.13.2; small general, £4.2.4; total profit, for the company, £44.4.7. Number caught by each man and share of each: Capt. Knowlton and boy, 1884, £11.6; John Porter, 1120, £6.14.4; Joseph Hilbert, 1120, £6.14.4; Richard Elliott, 888, £5.6.7; Jonathan Conant, 888, £5.6.7; Thomas Oaks, 768, £4.12.2; Moses Endicott, 706, £4.4.7; dated Danvers, Sept. 22, 1787, and signed by Samuel Page.

Joseph Knowlton's return of the fall fare, dated Oct. 28, 1787, the day they returned home; Knowlton's and boy's share, 2926, £30.14.9; Joseph Hilbard, 1808, £18.19.3; John Porter, 1808, £18.19.3; Richard Elliott, 1808, £18.19.3; James Bishop, 1445, £15.4.1; Moses Endicott, 1445, £15.4.1; Amos Towne, 1118, £11.15.7.

Settlement of Joseph Knowlton & Co., third fare, 1787. Number of fish, 12,358; weight, 397 $\frac{3}{4}$  quintels. Amount of sales, £265.9.10; great general, £51.13.4; Vessel's  $\frac{1}{4}$  part, £53.9.2; shoreman's  $\frac{1}{8}$ , £26.14.7; small general, £3.16.7; total profit, £129.16.2.

Settlement of Joseph Knowlton & Co., second fare, 1787. Number of fish, 12,435; weight, 377 $\frac{3}{4}$  quintels. Amount of sales, £237.16; deducting, great general, £51.2.2; Vessel's  $\frac{1}{4}$  part, £46.13.5; Shoreman's  $\frac{1}{8}$ , £23.6.8; small general, £3.10.9. Joseph Knowlton and boy, 3090, £28.2.4; Joseph Hilbert, 1872, £17.0.8; John Porter, 1872, £17.0.8; Richard Elliott, 1872, £17.0.8; Jonathan Conant, Jr., 1217,

£11.1.6; Moses Endecott, 1256, £11.1.6; Thomas Oaks, 1256, £11.15.8. Dated Danvers, Dec. 29, 1787, and signed by Samuel Page.

Settlement of Gideon Rea & Co., second fare, 1788, number of fish caught, 18,388; weight, 444 $\frac{3}{4}$  quintels. Amount of sales, £270.9; deducting, Great General, £71.3.8; vessel's  $\frac{1}{4}$  part, £49.18.8; Shoresman's  $\frac{1}{8}$ , £24.19.4; small general, £3.5.1; total profit, £121.2.3. Caught by each man: Gideon Rea, 2632, £17.5.8; Joseph Hilbert, 2632, £17.5.8; Richard Elliott, 2632, £17.5.8; Moses Endicott, 2632, £17.5.8; James Burtch, 2045, £13.10.7; Asa Batchelder, 1825, £12.1.3; Thomas Oaks, 2045, £13.10.7; Jeremiah Putnam, Jr. 1945, £12.17.2; total number caught, 18,388. Dated Danvers, Oct. 28, 1788, and signed by Samuel Page.

Settlement of Gideon Rea & Co. fourth fare, 1788, number of fish caught, 3062; weight, 69 $\frac{1}{4}$  Quintels. Amount of sales, £45.12.10; deducting, Great General, £14.5.2; Vessel's  $\frac{1}{4}$  part, £7.16.11; shoresman's  $\frac{1}{8}$ , £3.18.5; total profit, for the company, £19.12.4. Number caught by each man: Gideon Rea, 479, £3.1.4; Moses Endicott, 479, £3.1.4; Richard Elliott, 548, £3.10.2; Solomon Geddings, 392, £2.10.5; Nathaniel Jones, 392, £2.10.5; Thomas Oaks, 386, £2.9.4; Jeremiah Putnam, Jr., 386, £2.9.4. Dated, Danvers, June 21, 1789, and signed by Samuel Page.

The same company caught 5928 fish on the first fare in 1788, the profit, for the company, from which was £63.10.5. Each man's share of oil on board the schooner Clarissa, third fare, in gallons: Richard Elliott, 1; Moses Endicott, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Asa Batchelder, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Thomas Oaks, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; James Birch, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Jeremiah Putnam, 3; Samuel Page, 1; Joseph Hibbard, one barrel; Gideon Rea, one barrel.

The same company caught, on the third fare, 1788, 17670 fish, weighing 473 $\frac{1}{4}$  quintels, and from which the profit accruing to the company amounted to £113.16. Settlement, dated Jan. 21, 1789.

On Jan. 13, 1789, Captain Page insured the schooner and cargo again for £300 through William Gray, Jr., "from Danvers to one or more ports in the West Indies."

Invoice of goods shipped: 48 bbls. beef at 50/, £120.; 15 half bbls. at 27/, £20.5; 3 thousand Red Oak hhd staves, £7.4; carting of staves, 13s. 6d.; 68 $\frac{1}{2}$  Quintils of Cod fish at 14/, £47.19.; 1 bbl. oil, 48/, £2.8.; 20 Pairs of Calf Skin shoes, 5/, £5.; carting boards, 3s.;  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. boards, £1.10.; carting 15 bbls. beef, 4s. 6d.; carting 1 bbl. oil, 4d.;

30 yards tow cloth, £1.16.; 1 Cord wood, 22/ carting and sawing, £1.8s.; 9 Bushels potatoes, 18s.; one month's advance to the crew, £224. 9s. 4d.

Portledge bill of a voyage to the West Indies in 1789; Gideon Rea, wages at 48/ per month, £10.6.4; Richard Eliott, at 42/8, £6.6s. 7d.; Moses Endicott, at 42/8, £6. 5s. 2d.; Solomon Geddings, at 42/8, £6. 6s. 7d.; Nathaniel Jones, at 42/8, £6. 6s. 7d.; total, £35. 11s. 3d.

Capt. Page's instructions to Capt. Rea, dated Jan. 9, 1789: "Sir, you haveing Command of the Schooner Clarisa now ready for sea my advice is that you imbrace the first fair wind and proceed for Martinico in the West Indies and on your arrival there sell your Cargo for the most it will fetch in Cash except you find you can obtain a better price at some other Island, in that case you must act as you think will be most for my Interest. If you sell at Martinico and can procure Good Molasses to fill the whole or any part of my shooks which I have on board without too much detention I would have you do it and proceed to St. Martain's or Stasha and their take in three or four Hhd. of good Sugar and two do. Rum if to be obtained reasonable, and if you can purchase salt at either of the above places for ten or eleven shillings per Hhd. I would have you make up your cargo with it and proceed home, if you cant procure the above Molasses etc. or but a small part of what I have mentioned at the above places you will proceed to Turks Island and take in a cargo of salt and bring home the remainder of your cash. I would recommend your being as expeditious as possible as the Voije depends much on your making dispatch.

"Wishing you a safe and prosperous voije

"I am your friend

Saml. Page."

Cargo shipped on account and risque of Samuel Page; 4000 bricks at 18/, £3.12s.; 1 M. oak staves, £2.8s.; 7075 feet merchantible boards & plank at 36/, £12.12s. 10d.; 3 Barrels Beef at 40/, £6.; 1000 hundred Hhds. hoops, at 8/, £4.; 91 lb. cheese at 2d. 15s. 2d.; 23 shook Hhds. for Molasses, at 4/6, £5.3s. 6d.; 53 hhds. codfish, containing 464 Quintels at 10/, £232.; 53 fish hhds. and packing, £19. 13s. 7d.; wharfage, cartage and other shipping charges, £6.; total, £292.5.

On account of Fowler & Pender: 87½ quintels codfish at 10/, 11 hhds. and packing at 7/10, 2 shooks hhd., £48.9.10; 24 quentils codfish freighted by Gideon Rea at 10/, £12; total cargo, £352.14s. 11d.



The remainder of the year was taken up with fishing voyages. In the first fare, the number of fish caught was 13,614, weight 343 quintels. Whole amount of sales, £193. 10s. 4d.; profit on voyage, to the company, £82. 9s. 7d. Caught by each man: Gideon Rea, 1972, £11. 18s. 10.; James Bishop, 1319, £7. 19s. 8.; Joseph Hilbert, 1917, £11. 11s. 11d.; Richard Elliott, 1931, £11. 13s. 9d.; John Foster, 1170, £7. 1s. 8d.; John Hutchinson, 1193, £7. 6s. 7d.; Solomon Geddings, 2056, £12. 8s. 8d.; Nathaniel Jones, 2056, £12. 8s. 8d. Settled, Nov. 28, 1789, pr. Saml. Page.

Second fare, 1789, number of fish caught, 13002; weight, 321 $\frac{3}{4}$  quintels. Amount of sales, £170. 17s. 1d.; profit to the company, £73. 5s. 1d. Number caught by each man: Gideon Rea, 1908, £10. 14s. 11d.; Richard Elliott, 1908, £10. 14s. 11d.; Solomon Geddings, 1908, £10. 14s. 11d.; Nathaniel Jones, 1908, £10. 14s. 11d.; Thomas Burk, 1908, £10. 14s. 11d.; James Bishop, 1475, £8. 6s. 3d.; John Foster, 1054, £5. 19s. 3d.; Jeremiah Thorndike, 933, £5. 5s. Settled by Samuel Page, Feb. 26, 1790.

Third fare, 1789, number of fish caught, 9251. Amount of sales, £149. 7s.; profit to the company, £70. 17s. 11d. Number caught: Gideon Rea, 1291, £9. 17s. 10d.; Luke Woodbury, 1291, £9. 17s.; Thomas Burk, 1291, £9. 17s.; Richard Elliott, 1235, £9. 9s. 4d.; Solomon Giddings, 1235, £9. 9s. 4d.; Nathaniel Jones, 1235, £9. 9s. 4d.; William Masurey, 980, £7. 10s. 4d.; John Foster, 693, £5. 6s. 1d. Settled June 15, 1790, by Saml. Page.

Settlement of John Smith & Co., first fare, 1790. Weight of fish, 171 $\frac{1}{4}$  quintels. Amount of sales, £175.2.2.; profit to the company, £83.10.5. Caught by each man: John Smith, 1191, £12.18.6.; John Smith, Jr., 1191, £12.18.6.; Job Cressey, 1191, £12.18.6.; Thomas Butman, 870, £9.8.10.; James Burtch, 863, £9.7.6.; John Gleeden, 610, £6.12.3.; George Hannars, 740, £8.0.7.; Jonathan Conant, 1041, £11.5.9. Signed, Sept. 11, 1790, by Samuel Page. Total amount of oil distributed among the company, 26 $\frac{1}{2}$  gallons.

Second fare, same company with the addition of Philip Richardson, caught 49,197 fish. Third fare, 1790, same company, brought in 18,503 fish, weight 381 $\frac{1}{4}$  quintels, at a profit to be divided of £163.16.11. Settlement made, May 4, 1791 by Samuel Page.

In 1791, the first fare brought in 7171 fish, weighing 146 $\frac{1}{4}$  quintels. Amount of sales, £149.16.10, with a profit to the company of £67.15.5. The vessel's quarter part was



always deducted after the great general. The company this year was composed of Seth Richardson, who received £10.12.5; James Poor, £10.12.5.; Richard Skidmore, £10.12.5.; Jonathan Conant, £10.1.8.; Lot Conant, £10.1.8.; James Laskey, £4.9.8.; James Gray, £7.9.11; Elias Skidmore, £3.14.2. Settled with Capt. Page, Aug. 5, 1791. The same company on the second fare brought in 18386 fish, sales amounting to £265.3.2, and the profit shared was £121.4.6. On the third fare, 8868 were caught, weighing 220¼ quintles. Sales, £179.15.11., profit, \$79.16.1

The second fare, in 1792, brought in 32,997 fish, weighing 390¾ quintles. Amount of sales, £343.3.7.; profit to the company, £167.6.2. Caught by each man: Seth Richardson, 4317, £21.17.10.; William Hilbert, Jr., 4317, £21.17.10.; John Welch, 4317, £21.17.10.; Richard Skidmore, Jr., 4317, £21.17.10; James Gray, 4328, £22.0.7; Reuben Kennison, 4328, £22.0.7.; Elias Skidmore, 3967, £20.2.4.; Nathan Hilbert, 3106, £15.11.4. In the first fare that year, the company had caught 52,396.

Settlement of Seth Richardson & Co., first fare, 1793, showed 70,794 fish caught, weight 529 quintles. Amount of sales, £370.1.8.; profit to the company of £153.9.7, divided as follows: Seth Richardson, 9765, £21.3.4.; John Welsh, 9834, £21.5.2.; Richard Skidmore, 10,335, £22.5.2.; John Porter, 10,381, £22.9.10.; Peter Lovet, 8954, £19.8.9.; Ebenezer Moulton, 6349, £13.16.4.; Aaron Marsh, 6349, £13.16.4.; Elias Skidmore, 8827, £19.1.8.

The same company, on the second fare, 1793, brought in 21,322 fish, weighing 442 quintles. Amount of sales, £382.8.9.; profit for the company, £174.1.10.

“Danvers April 8th 1793.

“This may certify that I the subscriber have agreed with Peter Lovet to find him sufficient Craft and Stoars to perform the fishing buisness in the Schonr *Clarissa* the ensuing season for fishing and to pay him sixty five Spanish milled dollars at the end of the same, for which I am to have all his Share of fish, Oile, and bounty money which shall become due to him in consequence of sd Voyage or Voyages.

“Saml Page.”

Instructions to Mr. Thomas Whittridge:

“Sir, you being Master of the Schooner *Clarissa* now lying in Beverly Harbor, our advice is that you embrace the First fare wind, and proceed to the Island of St. Luce in the West Indies and their make sale of the Cargo contain'd in sd

Schooner (which is Agreeable to the following Statement) to the best Advantage and layout the neet proceeds for such Artikels of West India produce as in your Opininion will pay the best freight. Should marketts be dull at St. Luce you have liberty to go to any other Island or port that you may think best for the benefits of the Voyage and that you do in every respect conduct yourself in such a manner as not to infringe upon the policy of insurance or the artikels of trade amongst the contending Nations of Europe.

"Thos. Whittredge

Saml. Page

Joseph Osborne, Jr."

"Dnvers, 14th Jany. 1794.

Invoice of cargo shipped by Samuel Page, Joseph Osborn, Jr., and Thomas Whittredge to the West Indies and consigned to Thomas Whittredge for sale and returns, at the customary commission, Jan. 10, 1794: 59 hogsheads Fish qt. 568, £426; 19 boxes Fish, 22 quintels, £15.4.; 58 barrels Beef, £145.; 15 half barrels beef, £20.5.; 3000 staves. £7.13.6.; 1 barrel Oyl, £2.8.; 4000 Boards, £12.; 15 boxes candles, £38.15.; 19 barrels Flour, £38.; 5 half barrels, £5.5.; 5 kegs Butter, wt. 481½ lb. at 12d., £25.1.6.; 2 kegs Fatt, 105 lb. at 9d., £3.18.9.; 105 lb. Cheese, at 3½d., £1.10.4.; Butter, £2.16., 6 Bush. Beans at 6/, £1.16.; total, £742.16.7.

Invoice shipped, Jan. 14, 1794, by Samuel Page one-half, Joseph Osborne, Jr. and Thomas Whittredge, the other half: 568 qt. fish including Hhd. nails and packing, at 15/, £426.; 22 Quentles do. in boxes at 16/, £17.12.; 58 Bbls. Beef at 50/, £145.; 15½ Bbls. Beef at 27/, £20.5.; 3000 Staves at 5½, £7.13.6.; 1 Bbl. Oile, 48/, £2.8.; 40±9 feet boards at 60/, £12.3.; 753 lb. Candles at 1/, £37.13.; Boxes for do., 18s.; 19 Bbls. Flour at 40/, £38.; 5½ Bbls. do. at 21/, £5.5.; 105 lb. hogs lard at 9d., £3.18.9.; 105 lb. Cheese at 3½, £1.10.4.; 537½ Butter at 1/, £26.17.6.; 5 keggs for do. and packing, 15s.; 6 Bushels beans at 6/, £1.16.; 72 pair mens fine Shoes, at 5/, £18.; 10 do. coarse do., at 4/6, £2.5.; 50 do. do. at 4/, £10.; 10 do. womens do. at 3/, £1.10.; 10 pair Shorte boot leggts at 4/6, £2.5.; 2 pair long do. at 18/, £1.1.6.; 745 lb. leather at 1/, £37.5.; 2 hhd. for do., at 1/, 12s.; 30 yd. tow Cloath at 1s. 2½d., £1.16.; one months advance wages, £15.; Truckage, labor and other Charges in loading the schooner, £11.19.3.; Ships Provisions & Stoars for the Voyage, £43.10.6.; Wharfage, £1.1.; total, £894.14.10.

Invoice shipped, Jan. 10, 1794, by Joseph Osborne, Jr.: 10 Boxes Candles, No. 1 to No. 10 Wt., 507½ lb. neat at 1/, £25.7.6.; 10 Boxes for do., £12.; Truckage to New Mills, 1s. 6d.; 10 Bbls. Beef at 50/, £25.; Truckage, 3s. 4d.; 10 Bbls. S. fine Flour & 5 half bbls., £25.5.; 9 Bbls. fine Flour at 38/, £17.2.; Truckage to the Bridge, 7s. 11d.; 2 Hhds. Leather, wt. 745 lb. at 13d., £40.7.1.; truckage to Bridge, 3s.; 12 pair thin Shoes, mens. at 5/, £3.; 2 Kags Fatt, 105 lb. at 9d., £3.18.9.; 2 Keggs Butter, 105½ lb., £5.5.6.; 105 lb. Cheese, at 3½, £1.10.4.; 5 Boxes Candles No. 51 to 55, wt. 245½ at 1/, £12.5.6.; 5 Boxes, 6s.; 1 Hhd. Fish, 9 quintels, at 14/, £6.6.; 2 Bbl. Beans, 6 bush., £1.16.; 2 Bbl. for do., 3s.; truckage, 3s.; 322¾ lb. Butter, at 1/, £16.2.9.; 3 half barrels, 7s. 6d.; ½ bush. salt, 3s.; total, £185.16.8.

Schooner Clarissa to Samuel Page, Dr., Jan., 1794, to goods put on board in company with J. Osborne and T. Whittredge, £453.11.5.

Invoice of fish shipped by Seth Richardson, mate of the Clarissa, 2 hhds. Fish containing 20 Quintles at 15/, including nails, screws and packing, £15.

Total invoice of the cargo, £823.4.7½, one-half being the property of Samuel Page, who also owned the schooner of 59 tons, which was eight years old—1794, valued at £360. Premium paid on £600 insurance at 8 per cent, £48. She was insured with her cargo on Dec. 31, 1793, through Wm Gray, Jr., John Norris, Benja. Pickman and John Appleton of Salem, merchants, for £600. On Feb. 5, 1794, she was taken a prize to the British Frigate of War, *Terpsichore*, condemned by the Court of Admiralty and taken to Dominica. The insurance was collected by Captain Page who agreed, on July 8, 1794, as was the custom, to return to the afore-said merchants a full proportion of whatever sum he should receive from said vessel and her cargo either by way of restitution or recovery at law, in proportion as £600 bears to £819. 12s., the cost of said schooner and cargo.

Seth Richardson, who had insured his fish for £15, also collected his insurance, Aug. 10, 1794, upon the same terms as Capt. Page.

Samuel Page's statement as to the value of the schooner and cargo, dated Danvers, Apr. 25, 1794: value of schooner, 59 tons, 8 years old, and well found, £400.; cargo, £894. 14.10.; Capt. and mens adventers, £137.8.; other adventers by a number of persons, £157.1.6.; month's advance wages,

£15.; ships provisions for the Voyage, £43.10.6.; charges upon the cargo, £13.0.3.; total, £1660.15.1. Capt. Page states that the schooner was taken by the *Blanch*, British Frigate.

The following was the form of demand for payment of the insurance:

“Salem, May 3, 1794.

“Benjamin Pickman, Esq.

“Sir, The Schooner *Clarissa* Appurtenances and Cargo (whereupon you insured for me the sum of one hundred pounds, by a Policy of Insurance, dated the 31 December, 1793) being totally lost: I do hereby inform you that I do from henceforth abandon to you my Interest in the said Schooner *Clarissa* appurtenances and Cargo, as to said One hundred pounds by you insured thereupon—I am therefore obliged to demand and do hereby demand from you payment of said sum, the full amount of your subscription to said Policy.”

This same demand was sent to all the other insurance men.

Capt. Page made demand on the State Department at Philadelphia for redress, through the Hon. Samuel Holten of Danvers, who was a Massachusetts Representative to Congress in 1794, then living at No. 128 North 2d St. in Philadelphia.

“Department of State, Philadelphia,  
10th Dec. 1794.

“Sir

“The Secretary of State directs me to assure you that Mr. Samuel Page’s letter of the 26th ult. which accompanied yours of this day will be sufficient to enable the Committee of the Merchants of Philadelphia to procure the appeal papers in the case of the Schooner *Clarissa*.

“I have the honor, sir, to be,

“With great respect,

“Your mo. obed. servt.

J. Wagnet.”

“Hon. S. Holten.

Depositions of Samuel Page, Joseph Osborn, the younger, and Thomas Whittridge, all of Danvers, as to the taking of the *Clarissa* by His Britannic Majesty’s Ship of War the *Terpsichore*, Sampson Edwards, Esq., Commander, and the *Blanche*, Christopher Parker, Esquire, Commander, and the condemnation. That the Master was desirous of giving in a claim in the Vice Admiralty Court of Dominica in behalf of the owners, but that he was prevented by the captors hav-



ing taken the schooner and cargo with papers, and he knew no one there from whom he could obtain security. He was stripped so bare by the captors that he had not money enough left to purchase a copy of the condemnation. The Master did not sign any bill of lading of the cargo, that at that time the merchants of Salem did not usually take bills of lading of cargoes bound to the West Indies, these being usually consigned to the master, who gave a receipt. That besides goods shipped as already cited Richard Skidmore, one of the seamen, shipped as an adventure on hhd. cod fish, 10 quintels; William Town, another of the seamen, the same amount. John Kittel of Danvers shipped 144 pairs of men's shoes; Timothy Putnam of Danvers, 71 pairs of shoes; Joshua Eustace of Salem, one dozen and nine hats, 19 pair of men's shoes and one pair of boots; Jacob B. Winchester of Danvers 40 boxes of Candles, 2000 pounds; Dennison Wallis of Danvers, 73 pair of shoes; Caleb Oaks of Danvers, 90 pair of men's shoes, ten pair of women's shoes and three pair of bootlegs and 6 barrels of beef; Zerubbabel Porter of Danvers, 50 pair of men's shoes and ten pair of bootlegs; Nathaniel Webb of Danvers, 2 barrels of beef; Amos Putnam of Danvers, one barrel of beef; Mr. Huester of Danvers, 200 pounds of cheese, 15 pair men's shoes. That none of those interested were subjects of France, Spain, or the United Provinces of France or Spain, neither were they doing business with any house of trade belonging to any persons enemies of the Crown of Great Britain or residing within the territories of France.

S. Williams, Agent of the United States in London, under date of May 25, 1798, sent to Capt. Page for copies of all the papers stating that with such proof there was little doubt of obtaining restoration of his property. Also under date of Dec. 26, 1798, Mr. Williams requested a letter of attorney to recover.

This was probably one of the vessels whose claims were settled in the latter part of the eighteen hundreds, the descendants recovering from the Government.

*(To be continued.)*



EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF REV. WILLIAM  
BENTLEY, D.D.

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June 18, 1807. This day Mr. Samuel Fowler Junr. was with me & informed that in April last, one mile from Beverly Upper Meeting House towards Danvers & about 150 rods from Brown's seat westward inland, always used as pasture, which he purchased last Feb., in digging rocks they found 8 pieces of Silver, of which four he obtained for my inspection, 6 inches under the soil by the side of a flat rock, I James & 3 Elizabeth. The spot is a rod from the road leading from Beverly to Middleton. The three are dated 1563, 1569, 1574, Elizabeth. The James is of a larger size, and dated 1615.

21. Sunday. Note. Wid. Eunice Richardson, d. of her Br. W. Putnam, Esq., æt. 76, of Sterling, pr. for a Son at Sea.

27. Numerous surveys for a turnpike from Andover to Salem. Three routes have been proposed. Already the turnpike from the Merrimac [river] to Boston, through the south parish of Andover, has been executed. It passes to Medford & then on the Medford turnpike to Boston. It lessens the distance several miles. The Andover turnpike is proposed as far as Felton's corner below [the] Endicott [farm] & then the remainder of the route left to Danvers, from the different opinions which prevail in that place & the rival interests. We begin to talk of a bridge over Bass river from Ellingwood's head to Orne point\* & of a bridge from planter's marsh near the present Beverly bridge to the Salem Neck touching between Spring cove & Roach's point. The one will open a communication with the Northfields & the other with the lower wharves.

29. This morning I left Salem for Andover, intending to take the road from Lindall's corner over Northfields through Middleton, but by turning to the right & passing by Dr. A[mos] Putnam's I went a mile out of the way. I found the road much repaired & good excepting only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Tavern beyond Middleton Meeting House.

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\* This bridge finally was built in 1907-8, a century later.

30. We found upon the road the Committee of the Subscribers for the Turnpike from Andover to Salem. Three routes have been proposed & we were assured that the Southern was accepted. This passes near Easties Tavern, not far from the Old road in Middleton, & goes down to Felton's farm below Endicott's old farm. The work has begun near the Merrimac & the bridge is to be erected on Stone piers. It is said that the work will be managed with great spirit & admit no delays. One of the Referees on the price of lands through which it passed, informed me that the competitions had produced content in the minds of those in favour of whom the route was determined, & that they had consented to the terms which had been offered. We crossed the Newbury Port turnpike & came out on Topsfield road above new Mills at Lendall's corner [Danvers] as we proposed.

July 7. This evening I spent with Hon. J. C[rowninshield] at his farm in Danvers, in company with several other Gentlemen. We were handsomely refreshed from the luxuries of a Garden which the heirs of Mr. Derby have sold to him.

August 1. Dr. Amos Putnam was born while Danvers was a part of Salem & lived long a reputable man in the practice of physic. Like most of our Physicians he knew little of the theory of Physic but his discretion had given him an influence & usefulness which distinguished him. He lived at the brook which divides the Parish & had extensive practice.

19. I went to J. C[rowninshield], formerly Derby farm, & thence to Col. Goodale's, to see the wife of a Capt. H. Prince & thence by the N. P. Turnpike to the Lynnfield Hotel. I found several parties at this place & some from Salem. Mr. Goldthwait who keeps it is from Boston, last from N. Hampshire. I visited the pond, wandered in the woods for berries, especially the whortle berry. The pond lillies are brought from the marshes northward of the Hotel & eastward of the road.

Oct. 14. This day was the Brigade Review of this quarter. The place of Review was in Danvers, five miles from Salem at the Beverly cross roads above New Mills. The two artillery Companies of Marblehead & the artillery of Gloucester were all we were to receive from these towns. Beverly & Danvers furnished Artillery Companies & the rest were Militia from the other towns. Salem furnished four Companies in Uniform but its militia was without any uniform. The whole

number was given between 2 & 3 thousand but the intermediate numbers variously. A great crowd of Spectators was collected from the expectation of seeing the Governour, who did not owe our Brigadier so much honour. E. H. Derby was Brigadier Gen. and Gen. Bricket, Major Gen. of the Division, was present at the Review with a company of Horse from the other Brigade. As not a military man was upon the parade, little can be said of the performances. No military talents were employed on the occasion. The whole ended seasonably & the town was soon quiet in the evening.

Mar. 2. This morning died Elizabeth, Wife of Ebenezer Putnam, A. M. He was the only son of Dr. E. Putnam of Salem, & married Sarah, d. of Gen. Fiske in 1791. After her decease he married the next d. Elizabeth, 1796, who is now dead. No children of his former wife are living & 6 sons remain by the last wife. Only one of Gen. Fiske's children, Nancy, Mrs. Allen, remains.

Apr. 23. This evening we had a federal Caucus. In their resolves they oppose the Gen. & State Government, countenance Pickering's Letter & organise rebellion in principle against the measures of our Country. It is not possible to go further without arms. And yet this done coolly, & most of the votes had not conception of the ind[ec]ency of any of these measures. Mr. S[amuel] Putnam, a Lawyer of this town, small in person, pert in manners, & alien to Pickering, is the new Candidate on their list of Senators in place of Thorndike resigned.

Aug. 23. Only one road was passable & that led to Waters Bridge upon Duck river, to New Mills in Danvers. Now the cross road to Horse pasture point is comfortable & good as far as Orne's point. The old path from the corner going to the bridle roads of Danvers is now open & good to Frye's Mills & the lower road upon North river by Capt. Mason's is in very good order. The opposite roads leading eastward upon North river are laid out & opened at both ends & the road opened by Mr. Walter leading from the cross road & parallel to the Old road to Danvers is open, wide & in good order. All these changes have been made within a very few years. A Bridge is talked of from Orne's point to Ellingwoods head in Beverly.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE DANVERS LIGHT INFANTRY.

BY MAJOR FRANK C. DAMON.

*(Continued from Volume XIV, page. 24)*

### ROW WITH SALEM CADETS AND COURT MARTIAL.

The following story of the famous row between the Danvers Light Infantry and the Salem Cadets is taken from the manuscript history of the Cadets written by Captain Benjamin Browne of the Cadets. Long abstracts from this interesting book, which is in the possession of the Essex Institute, were published in the Salem Evening News in several installments in the fall of 1924. Fortunately for the purposes of this sketch, the Salem papers of the period reported the court martial which followed with surprising amplitude.

Caleb Cushing of Newburyport appeared as judge advocate at this trial. Col. Charles Kimball of Ipswich was marshal; Asahel Huntington, Esq., of Salem, assistant judge advocate, with Leverett Saltonstall and Rufus Choate, Esqs., both of Salem, as counsel for the respondents. Quite an array of legal talent.

Capt. Browne's work is in the form of a diary. He was in command of the Cadets when the episode that formed the basis of the court martial occurred. He writes:

#### "REVIEW AT TAPLEY'S BROOK.

"Oct. 6, 1825, Gen. Appleton's brigade reviewed at Tapley's brook. Sham fight, etc. At this time an unpleasant misunderstanding led to the courtmartial of Capt. Sutton of the Danvers Light Infantry, which involved for a time hard feelings in that excellent corps toward the Cadets.

"The Danvers Light Infantry had conceived an opinion that they were to perform the dinner escort and they had procured a band of music for the occasion. A long custom had assigned this duty to the Cadets and the very friendly feeling which existed on their part toward Gen. Appleton, and which he appeared to reciprocate, excited much surprise that it was to be departed from on this occasion. The commander of the Cadets sought an interview with Capt. Sutton and was assured by him that the duty had been assigned his company by Gen. Appleton. Finding that the Cadets were feel-



ing very unpleasantly and feeling that he should be unable to bring out the company, the commander then went to Marblehead and had a conference with Gen. Appleton. The general, while he did not explicitly deny the promise to Capt. Sutton, assured Capt. Browne that he would do nothing to impair the friendly feelings of the Cadets.

"Capt. Browne called a meeting of the Cadets and while he could make no explicit assurance to the members he urged them to have confidence in him and if anything was done to dishonor the company, he would march them from the field and take the consequences himself. He felt he could not justify such a step in a military point of view, but as the company was very much excited, he preferred to take the responsibility solely on himself, sooner than to resort to subterfuge which would place the responsibility on the members.

"The Cadets accordingly went to the field with full ranks, and as usual were detailed as a guard to the General, and when the line was dismissed for dinner, the commander marched them to the place where the officers were assembled and reported to Gen. Appleton that the Cadets were ready to perform the escort duty. The order was then given the officers to form, and they were escorted to the dinner tent by the Cadets. Whether the assumption on the part of Capt. Browne surprised the general, so that he did not resist it, or whether Capt. Sutton was mistaken, Capt. Browne never knew. It is as much a mystery now as then.

"When the line was again formed in the afternoon, the officers of the Danvers and Salem Light Infantry were at their posts, but the soldiers were absent and did not appear upon the line again that day. This unfortunate occurrence was as unpleasant to the Cadets as it was to the Danvers company, for Capt. Sutton had been an esteemed member of the Cadets and the most friendly relations had existed between the two companies. When the commander of the Cadets went on the field, he fully expected that it would be him and not Capt. Sutton who would be the subject of a court martial.

"A court martial was ordered to be assembled at Ipswich, March 9, 1826, for the trial of Capt. William Sutton, Lieut. Porter and Ensign Emerson of the Danvers Light Infantry, and Capt. Joseph Cloutman of the Salem Light Infantry, on charges growing out of the transactions at the brigade review at Tapley's brook, the preceding autumn. Col. William



Beach of Gloucester, who was detailed as president, did not appear, and the court was organized as follows: Lieut. Col. Abraham Williams of Newburyport, president, Lieut. Col. Timothy Poor of Andover, Maj. Theron Johnson of Andover and Maj. George Cross of Newburyport.

"The charges against Capt. Sutton were in substance, disobedience of orders, in refusing to send a band of music attached to the company to the center of the brigade, when ordered, and against them all generally, and particularly, for not suppressing the disorderly conduct of the company while on parade, and for not putting under guard a non-commissioned officer, who was active in promoting disorder and insubordination. Further charges were that they were present at the anniversary supper of the Danvers Light Infantry, when certain toasts were given derogatory to the brigadier general, and tending to bring him into contempt, and of countenancing and approving of the same; also for using and approving of language highly derogatory to the military character of said brigadier general, and wholly unbecoming officers and gentlemen. The charges against Capt. Cloutman of the Salem Light Infantry were somewhat varied, but had reference to the same matter."

So much for the ex-parte statement of Capt. Browne. The *Salem Register* of March 2, 1826, had the following story:

The following is an abstract of the Charges and Specifications against the officers of the Danvers Light Infantry, who are now under arrest, and to be tried at the Court Martial, to be holden in Ipswich, on the 9th Inst.

Against Capt. Wm. Sutton Jr.

#### CHARGE I. DISOBEDIENCE OF ORDERS—

Spec. 1. For neglecting and refusing to send a band of music attached to his company to the centre of the Brigade as ordered by Major Barton.

Spec. 2. For neglecting and refusing to assemble his company on the parade, in the afternoon of the Brigade Muster, in conformity with the orders of the Brig. Gen.

#### CHARGE II. NEGLECT OF DUTY—

Spec. 1. For not assembling his company in the afternoon of the aforesaid.

Spec. 2. For not suppressing the disorderly conduct of his company while on parade.

Spec. 3. For not putting under guard one of the non-commissioned officers of his company, who was active in promoting a combination in the company to disobey the orders of their superiors in command.

## CHARGE III. UNOFFICERLIKE AND UNMILITARY CONDUCT—

Spec. 1. For refusing to obey the order of the General in regard to the band of music under his command unless the said General would agree to certain terms proposed and offered by said Sutton in violation of all military discipline and subordination.

Spec. 2. For joining in a combination to resist the orders of the General, with regard to the band of music under the command of said Sutton.

Spec. 3. For joining in a combination to bring the General into contempt, and certain conversation had with Lieut. Avery.

Spec. 4. For aiding, abetting, countenancing and approving of the desertion of the non-commissioned officers and privates under his command from the Brigade Parade.

Spec. 5. For countenancing and approving the disrespectful conduct of said company to their superior officers, etc.

Spec. 6. For that the said Sutton in violation of the duty which is owing to a superior officer, and to bring the said Brigadier General into contempt, did at the Anniversary Supper of the Danvers Light Infantry, on the twentieth day of October last past, at said Danvers, and also at the supper of the Salem Light Infantry, on the ninth day of November instant, at said Salem, utter, adopt, countenance, and approve of toasts or sentiments of the following tenor or effect—viz:

1. "The Brigade Quarter Master, 1st. Brig. 2d Div. May he make a tombstone, on which he shall inscribe in characters that will bear inspection, the departed honor of a Brigadier General."

2. "Brig. Gen. Appleton and Col. Pluck, of the Pennsylvania Militia—names synonymous with *Calves Head* and *Pluck*."

3. "Our next Brig. Gen.—May he show no partiality except toward merit."

4. "Brig. Gen. Appleton. He has suspended men from the honourable discharge of the duties of their offices; may he, like Haman of old, be hanged on a gallows of his own erection."

5. "Brig. Gen. Appleton—An engine of the high pressure principle; surely the boiler of such an engine will soon burst."

Spec. 7. For using and approving of language highly derogatory of the military character of the said Brig. Gen. and wholly unbecoming an officer and a gentleman.

The editor of the *Register* was evidently present on the occasion when the toasts that formed the basis of some of the charges were given, for I find the following version of them as the account of the affair proceeds:

"NOTE. The charges and specifications against Lieut. Porter, and Ensign Emerson, are mainly for aiding, abetting, and countenancing and approving the combination of the company before mentioned, excepting that spec. 6, charge 3, is common to them all. This specification has probably relation to certain sentiments expressed at the Suppers therein named, which, as here exhibited, are so unlike the originals

that justice to the authors of the sentiments, who were not either of the officers above mentioned, requires that the original should be published. They are here stated from memory only:—

“The renowned commanders of the Brigade at Tapley’s Brook and the 94th Regiment of Pennsylvania Militia; their names will ever be—Calves Head and Pluck.

“Our next Brigadier General—As a gentleman may he command respect, and in his military capacity may he acknowledge no distinction but merit.

“The policy of our Brig. Gen.—An engine on the high pressure principle; surely such a boiler must soon burst.

“Our Brig. Gen.—In the fullness of his power, he has suspended from command those whose right it is to command—May he remember Haman of old, how he was suspended.”

In its issue of March 16, 1826, the *Register* said:

“COURT MARTIAL—IPSWICH—After the organization of the Court, the case of Capt. Sutton was first taken up. The complaint against him charged him with disobedience of orders at the Brigade Parade of the First Brigade in Danvers in October last, in refusing an order of the Brigadier General for his music, neglecting to assemble his company, sending his music to the rear of the lines so as to deprive the Brigade of the benefit of it, countenancing certain toasts given at two anniversary suppers, which reflected on General Appleton, &c., to all of which Capt. Sutton pleaded Not Guilty. Asahel Huntington Esq. Counsel for the complainant read an opening plea in behalf of the complainant; after which the examination of Gen. Appleton as a witness commenced and continued thro’ the sittings.”

*Friday, March 10th.*—“The examination and cross-examination of General Appleton were continued and concluded, and the rest of the sittings were occupied with the examination of Col. Francis Peabody and Dr. George Choate.”

*Saturday, March 11th.*—“Lieut. John Porter and Ensign Ralph Emerson were severally arraigned and pleaded Not guilty. The same counsel appeared in these cases as in the preceding. The complaint against Lieut. Porter charged him with aiming and firing a gun at Gen. Appleton on the parade ground at the above mentioned parade, aiding and abetting the disorderly conduct of his companions, and countenancing the toasts above referred to. The complaint



against Ensign Emerson, charged him with aiding and abetting the same disorderly conduct of his company, refusing the music, and countenancing the same toasts, referred to in the other complaints. The trial of Capt. Sutton was then resumed, and the remainder of the sittings was occupied with the examination of Lt. Co. Jonathan Webb—after which the Court adjourned to Monday."

*Monday, March 13th.*—"Lt. Matthew Gaffney of Gloucester was arraigned on charges of disobedience of orders and neglect of duty. He pleaded Not Guilty. The Court then resumed the trial of Capt. Sutton. Lt. Avery, aid to Gen. Appleton was examined. The court then adjourned by request and consent of the parties, to Pickering Hall, Salem."

*Tuesday, March 14th.*—"The examination of Lt. Avery was continued. Capt. Samuel Pearce of Gloucester was also examined and Brig. Maj. Barton was called."

*Wednesday, March 15th.*—"The examination of Major Barton was concluded and Col. Josiah Newhall, of the Lynn Regiment, was examined. . . . (The evidence on the part of the prosecution was closed and the Court adjourned.) It is expected that Rufus Choate, Esq., Counsel for the respondent will read the opening defence this morning."

Under the headline, "Court Martial, Pickering Hall, Salem, March 20, 1826," the *Register* had the following:

"The trial of Capt. Sutton occupied the whole attention of the Court last week, until its adjournment on Saturday. On Thursday, Rufus Choate, Esq., Counsel for the respondent, read the opening of the defence, which was very able, and the reading of it occupied two hours. The Judge Advocate then proceeded to examine the following witnesses in behalf of the respondent: Richard Osborn, Jr., John W. Proctor, Esq., Col. Low, Maj. Lewis Allen, Capt. John Frost, and Mr. Nathan Poor. Capt. Joseph Cloutman, of the Salem Light Infantry, was arraigned on Friday, on charges preferred by Brig. Gen. Appleton, and pleaded Not Guilty. The court adjourned on Saturday noon, to Tues. the 28th inst. when the trial of Capt. Sutton will be resumed."

*April 3, 1826.*—"The Division Court Martial, for the trial of certain militia officers, met at Pickering Hall in this town on Tuesday last, by adjournment, and proceeded to the trial of Capt. William Sutton of the Danvers Light Infantry. The examination of evidence was completed on Friday,—and

on Saturday morning Leverett Saltonstall Esq., Counsel for Capt. S. read the closing plea in his defense, which occupied two hours. The court then adjourned till Tues. next."

*April 24, 1826.*—"The findings of the court were announced in the following language:

"The Major General having received the original minutes and proceedings of a Division Court Martial of which Lieut. Col. Abraham Williams was president . . . And after attentively examined and maturely considered said minutes . . . they are acquitted of the charges against them and legally before the Court. And that Capt. Low is found guilty of disobedience and neglect of duty in not attending officers' drill and not notifying his officers of said drill and is sentenced to be reprimanded therefor in orders. . . . All officers who were tried before the court are herewith severally discharged from arrest. And the Court is ordered to be dissolved."

The rupture between the Cadets and the other infantry organizations in this vicinity continued for a period of over ten years. It seemed to have reached its height in the spring of 1835, when the officers of the Salem Light and Mechanic Light Infantry issued a broadside, a copy of which will be found in the military files at the Essex Institute, under the sub-division "Broadside."

It is too long to be included in this paper, but its import is set forth in the following extract:

## BROADSIDE!

### GREAT ATTRACTION.

A meeting of representatives of different corps will be held at the Salem Light Infantry armory Wednesday, May 6, 1835, to consider our common grounds of complaint and adopt such measures as may seem expedient.

It is proposed to reduce the Salem Cadet Corps to the standing of other companies of like description. "We can see no good reason why they should be allowed to hold peculiar advantages . . . to the discredit of the possessors, to the annoyance of their neighbors and to the destruction of all military subordination and discipline."

G. H. Devereux	A. J. Archer
H. K. Oliver	J. P. Felt, Jr.
T. H. Lefavour	N. B. Perkins
J. H. Worcester	J. H. Phippen
Joseph Hale	

: Whatever conclusions were arrived at, I did not find them



set forth in the weekly papers of the period. But I find in Col. Frank Dalton's chapter on the Cadets, in "Regiments and Armories of Massachusetts," a statement to the effect that the special privileges and independent standing of the organization, after being questioned for years, were finally admitted to be based on the military law of the commonwealth and had not caused any contentions for at least a half century at the time when he was writing (1898). I imagine that the election of Capt. William Sutton of the Danvers Light Infantry to the command of the Cadets in 1836, and his subsequent promotion to be a major general, may have had something to do with healing the breach. He soon came into a position, as commander of the brigade to which the Second Independent Cadets were attached, to wield a great influence over both sides to the controversy.

On July 4, 1826, the Danvers Light Infantry participated in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the birth of the republic in Salem. There was a parade, oration, dinner on the common, and fireworks. The Salem Cadets declined to turn out, owing to their feeling against the Salem and Danvers Light Infantry companies over the recent court martial. Ten years later, on Oct. 20, 1836, we read in the newspapers of the day, the Salem Cadets, on the occasion of the 49th anniversary parade, marched to South Danvers, where the officers of the Danvers Light Infantry provided refreshments at the Essex Coffee House, presided over by Mr. Goodridge.

#### RECORDS AND REPORTS OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL.

I am sorry that the only company record book from this vicinity preserved in the military archives at the State House does not happen to be that of the Danvers Light Infantry. The entries of the company clerk would shed much light on the personnel of the company up to the reorganization of the militia in 1840. Since 1840 the pay rolls of the different companies are on file, and serve as the only guide to company matters up to the time when the muster-in and discharge of every enlisted man was made a subject of record.

While I have had access to the annual reports of the adjutant general, most of the local color I have been able to add to the story as revealed by the old rosters and pay rolls has been gleaned from the files of the Salem papers at the Essex Institute. I am indebted to the late Col. William C.

Capelle, of the adjutant general's office, for much material which I found in the chapter which he wrote for the valuable two-volume history published in 1899 under the title, "Regiments and Armories of Massachusetts." This work can undoubtedly be found in any public library.

Gen. Henry A. S. Dearborn became Adjutant General in 1833. One of his early reports refers to "the prevalent hostility or indifference to military institutions." From 1830 to 1840, a period of ten years, the record will show that under the system then obtaining, the militia of the commonwealth was in a condition of utter demoralization. It was lacking in drill and discipline. But little if any attention was paid by the officers to the duties required of them, and the private soldiers were little else than a uniformed mob. According to stories told me by men still living, the improvement was slow after 1840, for the riotous proceedings at several musters held in North Danvers about 1846 do not tally with the reports of the discipline afterwards attained.

In 1835, the adjutant general alleged, as the chief and most important objections to the then existing militia laws, that a much greater military force was provided than the exigencies required; that they were unequal in their operation; that the term of service was unnecessarily long (27 years), and that the expense of arms and equipments, with the loss of time, was extremely onerous. There were also then, as now, objections on the part of employers to the enrollment of their employees, parents to the enrollment of minors, and masters of their apprentices, and discipline had been almost entirely abolished. In his report to the governor in 1836, Adjt. Gen. Dearborn said: "The army and navy are the themes of vituperation; the militia has not received the least attention from the national legislature for 44 years." In the same report I find he mentions the sale of "the gun house of the disbanded Danvers Artillery Co., with the land."

When we consider that for twenty-seven years, or from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five, a man had to "train" with some militia company, we cannot wonder that the duty became irksome. Each man had to furnish his own uniform and supply his own arms and accoutrements. In the light of such knowledge, and in the face of these damaging reports from those who should know whereof they spoke, the members of the old Danvers Light Infantry are entitled to a great deal of credit for persevering in their endeavors to maintain the company. That the men were intelligently

led is evident from a perusal of the rosters of their officers. And then, too, they must have believed that unless a militia was preserved in some shape or form the country would be unable to enforce its laws or to prosecute war. Bad as it was, it was the best the country could offer in the way of national defence.

By the reorganization of 1840, twelve regiments, assigned to six brigades and three divisions, were called for. The total number of officers and men was 7,255, and the enrolled militia was 80,602. Adjutant Gen. Dearborn, in his annual report for 1839, said: "The causes for the continued deranged and degraded condition of the militia, which have been repeatedly stated in former reports, have been still more active and deleterious in their consequences during the past year, as will appear from the very general dereliction of duty exhibited in the annual statement of the returns, and of the remarks copied from those returns." He then pointed out that over half of the companies made no May inspection returns. Five entire brigades, comprising some twenty-four companies, were thus remiss. He recommended that the general government exercise the plenary power which it possessed to place the militia on a perfect and substantial foundation.

The act of March 24, 1840, was the result. It provided that the militia should consist of volunteers or companies raised at large. The new law relieved 90,000 men from the loss of time and expense and improved a "distasteful, onerous and unsatisfactory duty." In the Adjutant General's report for 1842 there is to be found this optimistic note: "During the year there has been evinced an unexampled spirit of emulation throughout the various corps. . . . It is confidently believed that in no period of our history has there been a greater proportion of intelligent and active, zealous, and in all respects well-qualified officers."

In the report for 1845 all the regiments except the First and Sixth were severely criticized by the inspecting officers. The Danvers company was part of the Sixth. By the close of 1846 there were but 93 companies in the whole state, and their rolls, probably padded with much dead wood, contained but 5,440 names. In the seven years from 1840 to 1847, inclusive, 78 companies had been disbanded and only 28 new ones organized. Adj. Gen. Oliver sought from the commanding officers an expression of opinion as to the causes for this falling off. From the many replies I select a few: "Absence of any obligation by law to do military duty."



"The miserable pittance allowed by the state for duty" (\$6 per year). "Want of interest manifested by the community generally in the system." "But few young men can be induced to assume a command, and the militia has been sustained for years by old officers. This cannot last for ever, and as the old officers retire the volunteer companies will gradually disappear."

This last quotation applies with surprising directness to the Danvers Light Infantry. It was written in 1846. Asa W. Sawyer, after a period of service in the ranks and as a subaltern, had been elected Captain. He held the office just three years, and nobody was elected in his place when he resigned in 1849. Older officers, like Gen. Sutton and Caleb Low, had become field and general officers, and their successors found things so little to their liking in the company that they soon tired of the labor of trying to keep it up.

And now we come, in our inspection of the reports of the Adjutant General, to a specific mention of the Danvers Light Infantry, and do not have to rely on general conditions to get the proper perspective. In 1847 a company in Lynn and one each in seven other towns were disbanded, and Gen. Oliver goes on to say: "Those in Norton, Danvers, Greenfield and Upton are in no better condition and would have shared the same fate but for the delay accorded at their request until effort can be made for more favorable legislation." Including the four just mentioned there were fifteen other companies who, according to Gen. Oliver's dramatic phrases, "exhibit appearances of consumption and decline." And then he added the opinion that "the whole volunteer system is a total failure."

The failure of the national government to furnish suitable arms is given as one of the contributing causes of the period. The state officials are not sparing in their condemnation of the government. Breechloading rifles were used by Prussia in the war with Denmark in 1848, and yet we fought through the Civil war with muzzle-loaders. It was necessary, in order to arm the Massachusetts militia, to alter old flint-locks to percussion-locks, and these remodeled arms were said to be "more dangerous to the individual soldier than any enemy he might encounter."

Bear in mind, I am writing of a period seven years after the great reorganization. Conditions did not improve and the gold rush of 1849 is given in the official documents as a contributing cause to the lack of enlistments in the volunteer militia. In that year only three and a half days in a year were required of an organization for active duty. One-half day in May was given over to the annual inspection which took the place of the old "May training." There were two days of company drill under the commanding officer of the company, and one day for the fall review by regiment, brigade or division. "All of the time was devoted to idle show and useless ceremonies."

Gen. Arthur F. Devereux of Salem was Adjutant General in 1849, and I find this paragraph in his annual report: "If the charge of doing duty were less burdensome a larger number of young men would join the ranks. The militia system has been passing through a period of transition, which has, for a time, depressed its character. The peculiar spirit, produced by circumstances, which formerly brought nearly our whole male population into its ranks, died out, with the changing character of the times. The old system survived its adaptation to the state and temper of the community long enough to bequeath to its successor a very undesirable inheritance of confusion, disorder and absurdity. But this load has been thrown off and the new organization begins to assume its proper character of a select, neat and respectable force, composed of men who are inclined to the duty and are both able and willing to do it well. . . . The grotesque incongruities of past days and the jumble of unmeaning evolutions with a great ignorance of tactics, have given way to a systematic and regulated instruction according to the army standard."

It would be possible to make up a complete muster roll of the Danvers Light Infantry for about nine years (1840-1848). But this narrative is already much too long, so I content myself with making a copy of the pay rolls for 1847-48, and refer those who seek further information along this line to the records in Room 258, State House, Boston.

Asa W. Sawyer had been elected captain and was commissioned June 24, 1846. Presumably the regular tours of duty were performed by the company that year.

In 1848 we find that the following men turned out on Sept. 22, 27 and 28, and drew \$5 each for this service:



Joseph Buxton	Francis Haskell	John Pendar
Edw. Buxton	Eben S. Howard	Asa W. Sawyer
Thos. W. Brown	Fields Holman	(Capt.)
John Bagley	Timothy H. Lord	Cyrus Starkey
Wm. W. Chadbourne	James Morris	Augustus Southwick
J. J. Clarke	James Moreland	David Southwick
Chas. A. Dole	Alfred W. Merrill	Robt. S. Symonds
Edward Fornis	Isaac Monroe	Orlando Southwick
Joseph Fairfield, Jr.	(1st Lt.)	Thomas H. Sawyer
Eliab Goldthwaite	Stephen Osborne	Benj. H. Sheldon
Joseph Gray	Geo. C. Pierce	Anthony Snow
Henry Hatch	Benj. Pierce	John Thompson
	F. K. Pemberton	Dean Thomas
	Geo. W. Torr	
	(3d Lt.)	

It will be noted that on these official pay rolls the commissioned officers were listed with the men, in alphabetical order, and drew the same pay. At the bottom of this pay roll the following certificate appears:

"The subscriber hereby certifies that the warrant of the selectmen dated Nov. 27, 1847, certifying that the above-named persons were entitled to the sums set against their names, has been received by me and the amounts paid on the 28th of said month.

Robert S. Daniels, Treasurer of  
Jan. 26, 1848." Danvers.

On May 31, 1848, seventeen men of the old company answered to their names at an ordered tour of duty. On the 6th of October, the captain, Asa W. Sawyer, was the only one who turned out. When it came time for Capt. Sawyer to make his annual return for 1848, he did so on the regular pay roll form. He added some 30 names to the 37 found on the 1847 list and at the bottom of the sheet wrote these significant and illuminating words, which led Mr. Cross, the archives expert, to remark that if other old commanding officers had done the same thing it would not be so difficult to compile the history of the several companies:

"These names are taken from the company roll book and with the exception of two there has been no one present at any meeting called by me since May training. As regards duty, the company is in as good standing as any in the regiment. In fact, we owe nothing and have good camp equipage and two stand of muskets. The company this season has appeared to be divided. Some are in favor of the new

uniforms and the remainder opposed, and so we stand at present. But with the right spirit we have material enough for as good, if not the best, company in the regiment.

"Respectfully yours,

"Asa W. Sawyer."

The new names to be found on the 1848 roll are:

P. R. Basford	Wm. Homans	Edwin Perkins
Augustas Coleman	Chauncey F. Holman	Jonah W. Parker
Geo. Clark	O. K. Jeffry	David Roberts
Wm. Chase	Geo. Luscomb	A. E. Robbins
Wm. A. Dodge	David W. Osborne	Wm. Southwick
Chr s. Ecles	Wm. Osborne	John Spiller
Edw. Giddings	Jonah Pickett	Silas A. Smith
John Gillion	James Perkins	John A. Tunell
Nath. H. Hodgkins	Eben S. Poor	Geo. G. Whittier
Rand F. Heard	John B. Peabody	Owen S. Warland

It appears from the old documents that the selectmen paid the militiamen and then made a return to the state within twenty days of the last tour of duty. The adjutant general compared the roll with its list of men eligible for duty and pay, and made the proper certification to the selectmen. The selectmen then drew their warrant on the treasurer and returned the roll with its certificate on or before December 31st, under a penalty of a fine of \$30. George H. Devereux signed the state certificate on the last roll I looked at, and Lewis Allen, Nathaniel Pope, Wingate Morrill, Kendall Osborn and Moses Black, Jr., selectmen, certified to the issuance of their warrant.

In 1850 three old companies, "disorganized and approaching dissolution," were disbanded. Of the 140 companies in 1840, only 40 survived until 1855. The Danvers men held on just one year longer. In the report for 1851, we read: "Fourteen new companies were organized and 16 disbanded. Of the disbanded many had been a drawback and an encumbrance and would have been wiped out of existence long before but for the remissness of inspecting officers."—Adpt. Gen. Ebenezer W. Stone, in Annual Report.

While there is no official basis for the belief, it is not hard for me to see the fine hand of Maj. Gen. William Sutton in those inside manipulations which prolonged the life of the company he had commanded for thirteen years in the heyday of its existence. The inference is plain from the official records I have quoted, from the failure of some officers to qualify, the resignation of others, that there was

little left but an honored name. And even so great an influence as that of the Major General of the Division could not indefinitely make a paper existence possible. And so the old company passed out of the picture. Its passing was in the same year that saw the flintlocks called in and rifles with percussion-locks substituted.

There remains but a few words to be said to round out the story. The smaller towns, one after the other, proved their utter inability to maintain interest in militia companies, and the whole Sixth Regiment was disbanded, as has been stated before, in 1855. In this year the Eighth Regiment, so long known in after years as the "Essex County Regiment," was brought into being. Three companies were located in Marblehead (B, C, H), two in Lynn (D, F), and one each in Newburyport (A), Beverly (E), and Gloucester (G). It was to this regiment that the third Danvers Light Infantry was assigned in 1891, the number of companies having been increased to twelve.

The special order disbanding Co. F, Sixth Regt., M. V. M. (Danvers Light Infantry), was as follows:

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, )  
Headquarters, Boston, Oct. 13, 1851)

Special Orders No. 34.

Co. F, of the Sixth Regiment of Light Infantry and Cos. B and G, of the Seventh Regiment, being reduced below 20 privates, agreeable to the third section of the act concerning the militia, March 17, 1841, they are hereby disbanded. . . . Lieut. Col. B. Brown, commanding the Sixth Regiment, will cause the public property to be returned directed to the Adjutant General, Boston.

Maj. Gen. William Sutton is charged with the execution of this order.

By command of His Excellency, George S. Boutwell, Governor and Commander in Chief.

EBENEZER W. STONE,  
Adj't. Gen.

Had the old Danvers Light Infantry been able to struggle along a few years more, with the assistance of its old commanding officer, now in a position of authority and influence at state headquarters, its record would have been continuous through the Civil war, and perhaps beyond. For soon the legislature made desirable changes in the laws, and the evidence of the impending conflict between the states spurred the red-blooded young manhood of Massachusetts to renewed interest in the old institution. In 1859 all the forces of

the commonwealth encamped together at Concord for three days, Sept. 7th, 8th and 9th. The troops were reviewed by Gen. Wood, a Mexican war veteran. His short address aroused unbounded enthusiasm.

In 1860, William Schouler, who was to perform such herculean tasks for his state during the Civil war, became Adjutant General. The rumbles of the approaching storm had become roars and Gen. Schouler closed his first report with these prophetic and sagacious words: "Events have transpired in some of the southern states, and at Washington, that have awakened the attention of the people of Massachusetts in a remarkable degree to the perpetuity of the Federal Union, and which may require the active militia of the commonwealth to be greatly augmented. Should our worst fears be realized, and this nation be plunged into the horrors of a civil war, upon Massachusetts may rest in no inconsiderable degree the staying of the effusion of blood and of rolling back the black tide of anarchy and ruin.

"She did more than her share to achieve the independence of our country and establish the government under which we have risen to such unparalleled prosperity and become the great power of the American continent; and she will be true to her history, her traditions and her fair fame."

Since the second Danvers Light Infantry helped the old commonwealth to be "true to her history, her traditions and her fair fame," it also deserves to have its record written in imperishable characters on the pages of the history of the town. It was my great privilege in 1924 to interview five of the six surviving members of that old company and to commit to paper much of historic value that they told me. There are but three now: Nathaniel A. Pope (87), of 44 Pine street, Charles Hartman (82) of 12 East street, and Dennis J. Cashman (77) of 37 Pickering street.

At some future time, aided by further researches among the official records, I shall be glad to continue the narrative for the collections of the society, if such a step seems desirable.



## DESCENDANTS OF ROGER PRESTON OF IPSWICH AND SALEM VILLAGE.

BY CHARLES HENRY PRESTON.

*(Continued from Volume 14, page 132.)*

Jacob Preston of Windham sold "son Joseph Preston part of a house and land in Windham . . . bounded by land now belonging to my son William . . . for the use of Joseph and [my] wife Sarah during their natural life, Jan. 16, 1733/4. (Windham Deeds, G. 274.)

William Preston of Windham sold David Preston, land bounded by "land belonging to my father Jacob Preston and my brother Joseph Preston," March, 1734. (Windham Deeds, G. 326.)

Joseph Preston sold "brother John Preston land that was given me by my father Jacob Preston," 1735. (Windham Deeds, G. 365.)

David Preston of Windham sold David Ripley land "adjoining my father Jacob Preston's and my brother Joseph Preston's," Feb. 10, 1736/7. (Windham Deeds, G. 412.)

Jacob Preston, Sen. probably moved to Ashford when his son John settled there in 1740 or a little later, for on June 13, 1742, "Mr. Jacob Preston received into our holy communion in full being recommended by a letter from the Rev. Mr. Mosely by the consent of the brethren of Windham Village where he was in full communion. (Ashford Church records.)

Apr. 18, 1740, Jacob Preston and John Preston, Jun., of Windham for £500 sold fifty acres of land with buildings, "ye whole of farm which belongs to us," to Jacob Preston, Jun. This land was in the north part of Windham and joined the land of Jacob Preston, Jun. (Windham Deeds, Vol. H, p. 55.)

III. 23. JOHN PRESTON (Samuel, Roger), born in Andover, 1 May 1685; died in Windham, Conn., 26 July 1733; married, 10 Jan. 1706-7, Mary, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah (Moulton) Haines of Haverhill; (mar-



riage recorded in Andover); born in Haverhill, 3 Mar. 1686/7.

Children, born probably in Killingly, Conn., except last two:

70. JOHN, b. probably 1708.
71. MARY, died 13 Apr., 1766; married in Windham 28 Dec. 1736, Stephen Smith, who died 1760. Ch.: 1. John, b. 18 May, 1738; 2. Stephen, b. 19 June, 1739; 3. Mary, b. 25 July, 1741; 4. Peter, b. 28 July, 1743; 5. James, b. 6 June, 1744; 6. Benjamin, b. 25 Feb. 1748; 7. Peabody, b. 27 July, 1749; 8. Sarah, b. 11 Dec. 1751; 9. Mehitable, b. 3 Nov. 1754. The children were nearly all baptized in the 2d Church of Windham, and there Stephen and Mary (Preston) Smith died.
72. SUSANNAH, bapt. 9 Sept. 1711, in Killingly; m. ——— Adams.
73. JONATHAN, bapt. Feb., 1714, in Killingly; non compos mentis in 1739. (Conn. Colonial Rec.)
74. JOSEPH, bapt. 28 Feb. 1717, in Killingly.
75. BENJAMIN, bapt. 22 June 1718, in Killingly.
76. THEODORE, b. 1720.
77. WILLIAM, b. 1721.
78. ABIGAIL, bapt. 15 Sept. 1723, in Killingly; perhaps m. 5 Oct. 1740, Daniel Plumley of Upton. (Windham 2d ch. rec.)
79. DAVID, bapt. 10 Oct. 1725, in Killingly.
80. SAMUEL, b. 20 Aug. 1727; bapt. 3 Sept. in Windham.
81. SARAH, b. 6 Feb. 1729/30; bapt. 8 Feb. in Windham; d. 18 Mar. 1730/31.

John Preston must have removed from Andover to Killingly very soon after his marriage, for on July 31, 1707, John Preston "of Killingly" bought fifty acres of land in Killingly, of James Leavins of Killingly. He received a large grant of land in 1709, and on Feb. 24, 1725/6, John and Mary Preston sold Col. Samuel Brown of Salem, Mass., for £400 three tracts of land, in all about four hundred and twenty acres with dwelling house thereon; John appears to have been a first settler and received this land or most of it in the first and second division of common lands.

This is probably the date of his removal to Windham Village, where his brother Jacob Preston was already lo-

cated. His children were most of them baptized at the old church on Putnam Heights in Killingly, which was established in 1715; he and his wife were received into full communion there, March 9, 1716. Nov. 10, 1729 John Preston of Windham sold land in Killingly to Daniel Waters.

Nothing further is known of his life in Killingly. The first mention of them on the Windham records is the admission to the church in Windham Village of John Preston, Jun. and Mary Preston in 1726. He is probably the John Preston, Jun. mentioned in the deed of Narragansett land, from John, Sen. to John, Jun. mentioned under John Preston (6) who served in the Narragansett war.

In 1729 "for love and affection" John Preston of Windham deeded to his son John Preston fifty acres of land; the son John was then nearly of age and was married soon after. John Preston died 26 July 1733, and his grave in Hampton is marked by a stone, the oldest marking the grave of a descendant of Roger Preston, and the inscription reads as follows:

"Mr. John Presson Died July ye 26 1733 Aged 49 years"

There is quite a romantic story told of Mary (Haines) Preston's childhood. Her father, Jonathan Haines, who then lived in Newbury, Mass., married first, in 1674, Mary Moulton; she died in a few months and he married Dec. 30, 1674, Sarah, daughter of William Moulton of Hampton, N. H.; they are supposed to have been sisters. In 1686 Jonathan Haines removed to Haverhill, and there Mary, their third daughter of the name, was born.\* In Aug. 1696, while Jonathan Haines was reap-

\*Jonathan Haines born 1646, married Jan. 1, 1674, Mary Moulton, who died in a few months, and he married second, Dec. 30, 1674, Sarah Moulton, daughter of William Moulton of Hampton, N. H.; born in Hampton Dec. 17, 1656. Children: 1. Mary, b. Nov. 14, 1675; 2. Mary, b. Oct. 2, 1677; 3. Hannah, b. about 1678-9; m. Dec. 16, 1697, Joseph Heath; 4. Thomas, b. May 14, 1680, m. in Haverhill, Dec. 22, 1703, Hannah Harri-man; he lived and died in Haverhill; 5. Margaret, b. 1683, d. Feb. 10, 1753, in Windham, Conn., m. Nov. 26, 1706, Thomas

ing in a field near Bradley's Mills and the children were picking beans near by, the father and four children, Thomas, Jonathan, Mary and Joseph, were captured by the Indians, who immediately started for Pennacook; here the party separated and one portion with the father and Thomas went to Maine, while the other, with the three other children, went to Canada, where the children were sold to the French. The father and Thomas soon had an opportunity to escape and made their way, with great fatigue, to Saco, Maine, and thence to Haverhill. Of the other three, Jonathan and Joseph remained in Canada permanently, while it is said Mary was redeemed the following winter for 100 pounds of tobacco.

Two years later in Feb. 1698 Jonathan Haines and his son Thomas, and Samuel Ladd and his son Daniel started with their teams to haul some hay, that had been cut and stacked the preceding summer, from their meadow in the western part of the town. On their way home they were surprised by Indians, and the fathers were killed and the boys carried prisoners to Pennacook. They escaped and returned to Haverhill, though young Ladd was much disfigured. Thus Mary was left at the age of twelve without a father, and two of her brothers, prisoners in Canada and one for a time in New Hampshire.

In 1731 the family was widely scattered, as the deed recorded in the Essex Co. Registry will show: I, Samuel Ingersoll of Salem, in the County of Essex, cooper, sell to Thomas Haines of Haverhill, Jonathan Haines and Joseph Haines now at Canada, William Corbett and Sarah his wife of Lebanon, Conn., John Heath and Hannah his wife of Norwich, Conn., Thomas Kingsbury and

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Kingsbury; 6. Jonathan, b. Sept. 3, 1684, taken prisoner by Indians to Canada where he remained; 7. Sarah, m. Jan. 19, 1702/3 Thomas Kingsbury, m. 2d William Corbett of Lebanon, Conn.; 8. Mary, b. Mar. 3, 1686/7, m. John Preston; 9. Joseph, b. Aug. 4, 1689, taken prisoner to Canada where he remained; 10. Ruth, b. Feb. 10, 1691/2, m. 1711 John Corliss; 11. Abigail, bapt. Mar. 10, 1694, m. Jacob Warner; 12. Elizabeth, b. Mar. 22, 1696/7, m. Isaac Spaulding.

Margaret his wife of Windham, Conn., John Preston and Mary his wife of Windham, John Corliss and Ruth his wife of Haverhill, and the heirs of Jacob Warren and Abigail his wife, deed, and to Isaac Spaulding and Elizabeth his wife of Plainfield, Conn., all brothers and sisters of said Thomas, all my right in the one sixth part of several tracts of land situated in Salem. (dated Sept. 17, 1731.)

July 6, 1733, Thomas Haines of Haverhill for himself and as attorney for Jonathan and Joseph Haines of Canada with the others mentioned in the preceding deed, with the exception of Isaac Spaulding and wife, sold the same land to Richard Ingersoll of Salem.

John Preston, or Presson as he was usually styled, left a will dated 13 Sept. 1731, which reads as follows:

Will of John Presson Jun. of Windham, Colony of Connecticut, Husbandman

To my beloved wife Mary Presson whom I constitute my executrix I give for support and bringing up my children the use and improvement of all my real estate till my son Joseph comes to the age of twenty-one years, and after that the use and improvement of one third part of my estate during her natural life and room in my dwelling house and a part in the cellar so long as she continues my widow.

To my beloved son John Presson, I give five shillings which I judge with what I have already given him . . . full portion of my estate.

To my beloved children Mary Presson, Susanna Presson, Jonathan Presson, Joseph Presson, Benjamin Presson, William Presson, Abigail Presson, Theodore Presson, David Presson and Samuel Presson, I give all my personal and real estate to be equally divided between them save that my son Joseph be allowed twenty pounds above his equal share for his living at home and assisting his mother in managing the place and my will is that my daughter Susannah Presson have ten pounds out of the money due to me from my son John Presson above her equal share and that said money be paid when said money is divided.

My will is further that when my son Joseph comes to the age of twenty-one years that there be a distribution made of my estate among my children in the manner above expressed and that my son Joseph have my lands and buildings in Wind-



ham in case he pay the above said legacies to his brothers and sisters but if he don't incline to that my will then is that my land and buildings be sold and divided as above expressed and my wife to have the use and improvement of one-third part of what it be sold for during her natural life.

his

Signed Sealed Published  
and Declared to be the last  
will and testament of John Presson  
by the said John Presson Jun.  
in the presence of us the subscribers  
this 13th day of Sept. A. D. 1731.  
Philemon Chandler  
Philemon Chandler Jun.  
Benjamin Chaplin

John X Presson  
mark

Windham S. S. Aug. 22, 1733.

The within named Philemon Chandler, Philemon Chandler Jun. & Benjamin Chaplin all of Pomfret all personally appeared and made solemn oath that they were present and saw the within named John Presson sign seal and pronounce and declare the within written instrument as his last will and testament and they at the same time and in his presence set to their names as witnesses—before me

Richard Abbe  
Justice of the Peace

At a Court of Probate held in Plainfield Sept. 11, 1733 present Timothy Peirce Judge. The last Will & Testament of Mr. John Preston of Windham, decd. was exhibited into sd court by ye executrix named in sd will who accepted of that trust in court . . and which will is by said court approved allowed and ordered to be recorded and kept on file

John Crery  
Clerk of Probate

Inventory taken Aug. 22 by Paul Holt, Benjamin Bedlake, and Benjamin Chaplin was presented in Court Sept. 11. It included "Houses and sixty acres of Upland" valued at 380£.

Nov. 8, 1737. The court appointed Paul Holt, Mr. Thomas Steadman and Philip Abbott, all of Windham, to set out and divide the estate and Eleazer Crocker of Windham was appointed guardian of Theodore, David and Samuel.



A distribution of the property was made 15 Nov. 1737 to widow, John Preston, Mary Smith, eldest daughter, Susannah Adams, Jonathan Preston, Joseph Preston, Abigail Preston, Eleazer Crocker, guardian to Benjamin Preston, Theodore Preston, William Preston, David Preston, Samuel Preston. The distribution was allowed July 11, 1738.

Theodore Preston of Windham discharged Eleazer Crocker as guardian Apr. 29, 1741, having received his part of his father's estate.

Windham, Nov. 9, 1742. "Then recd. of Eleazer Crocker of Willington guardian to me the subscriber in full as my part of the estate of my honored father John Preston late of Windham deceased which was committed to him my guardian."

#### William Preston

As the sons came of age, some of them sold their shares and by the recorded deeds we find that Benjamin and Joseph, who were then of Pomfret, sold their shares of the estate to their "brother in law Stephen Smith of Windham" 17 Sept. 1739, and he and his wife Mary, sold her right and the rights of Joseph and Benjamin to Ebenezer Griffin, 20 Oct. 1739.

Theodore Preston bought his brother Jonathan's right from his mother Aug. 18, 1742, she having purchased the same from the selectmen of Windham, who held it in trust by order of General Assembly of Connecticut; he also purchased his brother William's portion Dec. 17, 1742, and that of David in 1746, William then being of Pomfret and David of Ashford. In 1744, Ebenezer Griffin sold Theodore Preston "all my right in that part of land which Theodore Preston's father died seized of"; that is, the rights of Mary, Joseph and Benjamin.

It is therefore evident that Theodore continued to live with his mother, instead of Joseph, as his father had intended.

Joseph, Benjamin, William and David disposed of their right in the widow's thirds when they sold their own shares; the widow was certainly living at the time of the first two transfers as evidenced by the date of

her deed to Theodore in 1742. The date of her death is unknown, nor is it certain that she spent the remainder of her days in Windham.

III. 24. JOSEPH PRESTON (Samuel, Roger), born in Andover, 26 Jan. 1686/7; died there, 9 Mar. 1713/4; married there, 21 Dec. 1709, Rebecca, daughter of John and Sarah (Geary) Preston; born there, 23 Jan. 1688/9; died in Windham, Conn., 1 May 1727; she married, second, in Andover, 22 May 1718, Robert, son of Nicholas and Mary (Russell) Holt, who was born in Andover 30 Jan. 1696.

Children, born in Andover:

82. A daughter, b. 26 Jan. 1710/11.

83. JOSEPH, b. 22 Aug. 1713; bapt. 23. Aug.

Children of Robert and Rebecca (Preston) Holt:

1. ABIGAIL, b. 12 Aug. 1719, in Andover; d. young.
2. SARAH, b. 18 Jan. 1721, in Andover; prob. m. Josiah Peabody.
3. ABIGAIL, b. 20 Feb. 1723, in Andover, m. in Windham, Conn. 5 Nov. 1741, David Kendall.
4. EPHRAIM, b. 1724, in Windham, Conn.
5. MARTHA, b. 4 Apr. 1725, in Windham, Conn., m. 1 Jan. 1754, John Richardson.
6. EZEKIEL, b. 21 Apr. 1727, in Windham, Conn., m. 5 Nov. 1746, Lucy Durkee.

Little is known of Joseph Preston, who died at the age of twenty-seven years. The widow Rebecca Preston was admitted to full communion in the church in the "South precinct in Andover" July 18, 1714.

Robert Holt purchased land in Windham Village, Dec. 6, 1717, but did not remove there till after the birth of their daughter Abigail in Feb. 1723. In June 1723, Robert Holt was one of the members at the organization of the second church in Windham, and in Oct. 1723, Robert and Rebecca Holt sold land in Windham to Jacob Preston, who also came from Andover at about the same time.

Rebecca Holt's son Joseph Preston was not quite ten years old when they went to Connecticut, and he was of

course taken with them; he married there, but died soon after.

III. 35. LEVI PRESTON (Levi, Roger), born 22 Nov. 1697; died in Fairfield, Cumberland Co., N. J., June 1731; married Mary ———.

Children:

84. HANNAH, m. Samuel Leake.

85. ABIGAIL, m. Samuel Hannah.

86. ESTHER, b. 20 June 1723; d. 3 Sept. 1781; m. 1743, as 2d wife, Arthur Davis; ch: 1, Levi, 2. Martha, 3. Ruth, 4. Arthur, 5. Esther, 6. Charles, 7. Naomi, 8. Benjamin, 9. Abijah; Benjamin Davis, b. Apr. 19, 1762; d. 25 Feb. 1837; m. 23 Jan. 1785, Thomasin Lummis; ch.: 1. Jeremiah, 2. Esther Preston, 3. Jane.

In June, 1732, Levi Preston, by a deed, gave 100 acres of land to his grand-daughter Esther Preston, Abigail Preston and Hannah Preston, daughters of his son Levi Preston.

III. 37. JOHN PRESTON (Levi, Roger), born 26 Feb. 1701; died before 1750.

Child:

87. JOHN.

Levi Preston, in his will dated 19 Feb. 1749-50 mentions grandson John, son of John Preston deceased. John Preston was a constable in 1727. Nothing further is known of this family.

III. 40. ISAAC PRESTON (Levi, Roger), born 10 Sept. 1707; died early in 1749; married Elizabeth, daughter of William, Jr. and Elizabeth Dare; she was sister of William Dare, who married Freelove, daughter of Levi and Abigail (Brooks) Preston. Elizabeth (Dare) Preston married second, in 1751, Jehiel Wheeler, who died 1759, his wife surviving him.

Children:

88. LEVI, b. 1732.

89. ISAAC, b. 20 Nov. 1735.

90. ELIZABETH.

- 91. WILLIAM.
- 92. JOHN.
- 93. JOSEPH.

The will of Isaac Preston, dated Dec. 16, 1748, and proved at Burlington, N. J., Feb. 27, 1749; probate granted Jan. 4, 1749. He calls himself of Fairfield, N. J., sick, etc. Appoints his wife sole exec. Witnesses, James Johnson, William Bradford and David Westcote.

Isaac Preston was overseer of the poor in 1737.

IV. 42. MOSES PRESTON (John, Thomas, Roger), born in Salem Village, 6 July 1715; died abroad, after 1740; married in Beverly, 24 Nov. 1736, Mary Leach; published in Salem, 6 Nov. 1736, to Mary Leach\* of Beverly; she may have been daughter of Samuel Leach, bapt. first church Salem, 1 Aug. 1714; she married, second, Aug. 1742, Thomas, son of Samuel and Sarah (Leach) Herrick, and died in Gloucester, 8 Feb. 1780.

Children, born in Beverly:

- 94. ELIZABETH, b. 14 Dec. 1736\*; bapt. Beverly, 6 Nov 1737; m. 18 Sept. 1755, James, son of James and Hannah (Putnam) Prince of Danvers; b. 15 Sept. 1731; d. 27 July 1796; she d. 18 Dec. 1822; Children born in Danvers: 1. Moses, b. 14 Feb. 1756; 2. Joseph, b. 27 June 1761; 3. James, b. 28 Aug. 1763; 4. Caleb, b. 18 Oct. 1769; 5. Hannah, b. 2 Feb. 1772; 6. Betsey, b. 24 Oct. 1774; 7. Amos, b. 30 Aug. 1776.
- 95. JOSEPH, b. 14 June 1733†; bapt. Beverly, 17 June 1739, he was drowned while bank fishing in 1761. Administration was granted on his estate, 12 Oct. 1761, to Thomas Herrick of Gloucester, with Isaac Woodbury and Benjamin Leach as sureties; they, with Lieut. John Preston were to appraise the estate. The property was divided among Mary, wife of Thomas Herrick, and mother of the deceased; Elizabeth Prince, wife of

\* Mr. W. A. Robbins, a descendant of Thomas and Mary (Leach) Preston Herrick, after an exhaustive search, concludes that Mary Leach was daughter of William and Tryphosa (Herrick) Leach of Beverly, bapt. in Salem Village July 2, 1710.

† These entries on the Beverly town records were evidently made at a subsequent date, and that of Joseph is certainly a mistake.



James Prince of Danvers, sister of the deceased; Ruth Herrick, half sister and Mary Herrick, half sister.

May 29, 1761, Joseph Preston of Beverly tailor sold Ebenezer Nurse of Danvers five and one half acres of land adjoining Nurse's and Tarbell's land. (In 1771 said Joseph was deceased.) Essex Deeds, vol. 154 p. 275.

From the papers of the late Moses Prince of Danvers, a descendant of Elizabeth (Preston) Prince, the following account of the disappearance of Moses Preston is taken:—"Moses Preston was a mariner, was taken prisoner and carried to Spain, got on board a Dutch vessel but was transferred to an English vessel and was impressed into the English service 1739. Wrote a letter May 30, 1740 Gosport mentions Mr. Herrick, Mr. Haskell Mr. Osgood, Jos. Stephens, Benj. Trask. This was the last heard from him."

In a record of deaths kept by Robert Hale in Beverly is: "1741 Moses Presson lost at sea."

In 1748 Capt. John Leach of Salem was appointed guardian of Elizabeth and Joseph Preston, "children of Moses Preston late of Beverly."

IV. 43. LIEUT. JOHN PRESTON (John, Thomas, Roger), born in Salem Village, 4 Sept. 1717; died in Danvers, 14 June 1771; married in Salem Village, 14 July 1744, Hannah, daughter of Joshua and Rachel (Goodale) Putnam; born 1722; died in Danvers, 28 March 1771.

Children born in Salem Village, which in 1752 was set off as Danvers:

96. ELIZABETH, b. 9 May 1745; m. 30 Dec. 1766 Abel Nichols of Danvers; no ch.; m. 2d. 22 Feb. 1785 Bartholomew Trask of Beverly.
97. JOHN, b. 8 Sept. 1746.
98. PHILIP, b. 30 Oct. 1748; d. 29 May 1749.
99. JOSHUA, b. 22 Mar. 1751; d. 11 May 1751.
100. DAVID, b. 20 Mar. 1752; d. 16 Jan. 1774, unm. Adms. granted to John Preston 4 Apr. 1774 with Amos Tapley and Abel Nichols as sureties.
101. HANNAH, b. 8 Aug. 1754; d. 20 Oct. 1825; m. 19 May 1772, Amos Tapley, born 15 Oct. 1748; died 6 Sept. 1835;

ch: 1. Hannah, b. 26 Apr. 1773; d. 20 Apr. 1853, unm.; 2. David, b. 6 May 1775; d. 3 May 1807; m. Mary C. Putnam; 3. Phebe, b. 28 Aug. 1777; d. 28 Sept. 1860; m. Henry Brown; 4. Emme, b. 1 June 1780; d. 24 Dec. 1781; 5. Amos, b. 4 Aug. 1782; d. in Lynn, 1 Sept. 1830; m. Betsey Lye; 6. Moses, b. 8 Nov. 1784; d. in Rising Sun, Indiana, 25 Aug. 1823; m. Rachel Berry; 7. Betsey, b. 14 May 1787; d. 28 July 1876; m. Levi Nichols; 8. Aaron, b. 6 July 1789; d. 3 June 1830; m. Ede Swinerton; 9. Daniel, b. 14 July 1721; d. 22 Oct. 1878; m. Susan Chandler; 10. Philip Preston, b. 22 July 1793; d. 8 June 1819; 11. Ede, b. 17 Aug. 1796; d. 14 Sept. 1840; m. Dr. D. A. Grosvenor; 12. Rufus P., b. 16 Oct. 1800; m. Rebecca Joselyn.

102. LEVI, b. 21 Oct. 1756.

103. MOSES, b. 20 Apr. 1758.

104. AARON, b. 24 Mar. 1760; d. 9 Apr. 1760.

105. DANIEL, b. 11 June 1761; d. 1 July 1762.

Lieut. John Preston lived on the farm of his father-in-law Joshua Putnam near the "Log Bridge" over the Ipswich River. He was active in town affairs, serving successively as highway surveyor, constable, selectman and assessor and overseer of the poor. He was elected selectman and assessor in 1757, 1758, 1760, 1763 and 1764, but declined in 1758, 1760 and 1764. He was representative to the General Court in 1764.

He was also clerk, treasurer and collector of the church, and served on a committee to perambulate the bound between Danvers and adjoining towns.

He was often called upon to settle estates of his townsmen. Joshua Putnam at the time of his decease in 1730 was occupying the farm of his father, in common with his brother Amos; in 1732 a division was made, one half being set off to the widow and children of Joshua; here John Preston went to live and after the decease of Rachel, widow of Joshua Putnam, he bought the rights of Mary Prince and Rachel Putnam, who were the only heirs with his wife Hannah.

The house, which was destroyed by fire a few years ago, is supposed to have been built by John Preston,

though it is possible a portion of it was still older, as it was evident that one part was older than the rest.

John Preston and his wife Hannah sold the farm of his father and grandfather to Edmund Putnam 29 April 1749, he having bought the rights of the heirs of his brothers Moses and Philip Preston. Administration on the estate of Lieut. John Preston was granted to his son John 2 Sept. 1771, and the property was divided among John, David, Levi, Moses, Elizabeth, wife of Abel Nichols and Hannah, wife of Amos Tapley.

There is a diary in existence in which Lieut. John Preston recorded the most important events beginning with the year 1744, and ending in 1760; it has been published in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute but is not of sufficient interest to be reprinted here.

IV. 44. PHILIP PRESTON (John, Thomas, Roger), born in Salem Village 6 Mar. 1719; died there, 14 Apr. 1748; married there, 29 June 1747, Ruth, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Whipple) Putnam; who was baptized 22 Oct. 1727; she married second, 2 Jan. 1752, Samuel Kimball of Andover. There were no children by the first marriage.

Children of Samuel and Ruth (Putnam) Kimball:

1. PETER, b. 26 Nov. 1752; m. 1780, Ruth Turner; ch: Samuel, Deborah Lathrop, Turner and Putnam.
2. BETTY, b. 26 Sept. 1754.
3. RUTH, b. 3 Feb. 1757.

Philip Preston is one of a very few from Salem Village who are known to have served in the Louisburg campaign of 1745. His brother John's diary furnishes the information which follows:

"1745 June 10th My Brother listed for Cape Briton sailed from Boston June 26th & arrived at Lewisburg harbour July 6th & wrote me a letter dated July 7th. I received it July 27th. Aug. 13th He was brought home sick."

"1748 Apr. 14th, My brother Philip Preston died in the 28th year of his age."

The widow Ruth Preston gave up right of administration May 16 1748 and John Preston was made administrator the same day; he had bought her right in her husband's estate on the 10th of May, and March 27 1749 the remainder was divided between John Preston, and Joseph and Elizabeth Preston, the two latter being children of Moses Preston, deceased, brother of John and Philip.

IV. 45. THOMAS PRESTON (Thomas, Thomas, Roger), baptized in Salem Village 25 Sept. 1709; died in Royal Side, Beverly, 1769; married in Marblehead, 9 Dec. 1731, Rebecca, daughter of Richard and ——— Gross; born in Marblehead, 7 Oct. 1712.

"Thomas Preston Jun<sup>r</sup> and Jerusha Trask, both of Salem," were published 24 Oct., and "Thomas Preston Jr. of Salem & Rebeckah Gross of Marble<sup>d</sup>" 6 Nov. 1731.

Children, born in Royal Side, Salem, and baptized at Second Church, Beverly:

106. ABIGAIL, bapt. 7 May 1738; m. Jeremiah Foster Jun. of Boxford; will of Jeremiah Foster of Boxford 4 Oct. 1803 mentions cousins, Sally Hovey, Dorcas Hovey, Susanna Hovey and brothers, David and Joshua.
107. ANNE, bapt. 7 May 1738; probably m. 13 Oct. 1757 Lemuel Richardson of Worcester.
108. REBECCA, bapt. 7 May 1738; pub. 30 Nov. 1754, to Ebenezer Dale of Danvers; m. 1 Apr. 1755; ch: 1. Ebenezer, b. 25 Dec. 1755; 2. Anna, b. 27 Sept. 1757; 3. Thomas, b. 19 Aug. 1759; 4. Samuel, b. 23 July 1761; 5. Rebecca, b. 27 Apr. 1764. Administration was granted 5 Oct. 1772 on the estate of Ebenezer Dale of Danvers, Carpenter, to widow Rebecca with Archelaus Dale, Gentleman, and Nathaniel Esty husbandman as sureties; Account mentions "three children under seven years of age." The widow died 1783, and adms. was granted on both estates to Ebenezer Dale, wheelwright, with Archelus Dale and Aaron Cheever as sureties, 10 July 1783. The land set out to the widow was at Danversport, adjoining land of Samuel Dutch, Nath'l Brown, Carrell, Aaron Cheever and the mill pond.
109. MEHITABLE, bapt. 23 July 1738; m. 26 Sept. 1771, Nathaniel Esty of Salem: ch: bapt. Tabernacle Church, Sa-



lem: 1. Mehitable, 27 Feb. 1774; 2. Susannah, 12 June 1774; 3. William, 19 May 1776; 4. Nathaniel, 13 June 1779; also, 5. Joseph, 6. Daniel, and 7. Catherine. Nathaniel married second, Rebecca, widow of Joseph Hobbs and dau. of Jesse and Rebecca (Berry) Rolf, 11 Mar. 1792; ch.: Hersey, b. 3 July 1796 in Middleton; Henry, b. 15 May 1799.

When adms. was granted on est. of Anna, sister of Thomas Preston, 5 Sept. 1785, Nath'l Estes in behalf of his wife, one of the heirs of Anna Preston, wished to be notified before an account of settlement was allowed.

110. ELIZABETH, bapt. 21 Sept. 1740; m. 11 Oct. 1763, Edmund Stiles of Boxford, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Foster) Stiles, b. 22 Nov. 1740; he died in Wendell, Mass., 23 July 1815. Ch.: 1. Phineas, b. 20 Mar. 1764 in Boxford; 2. Elizabeth, b. 4 Sept. 1765 in Shrewsbury, who m. Timothy Blodgett Jr. of Montague, Mass.
111. SARAH, bapt. 23 Jan. 1742/3; prob. m. Benjamin Leach, 26 July 1772.
112. THOMAS, bapt. 2 June 1745; not mentioned in his father's will in 1769.
113. SUSANNAH, bapt. 21 Jan. 1749/50.
114. HANNAH, bapt. 21 June 1752; m. 18 July 1775, Phineas Hovey, son of Luke and Dorcas (Kimball) Hovey of Boxford; lived in Beverly. Ch.: 1. Susanna, b. 1776; 2. Sarah Leach, b. 1779; 3. Dorcas, b. 1782; 4. William Gross, b. 1783; 5. Phineas, b. 1784; guardianship of children granted to Hannah Hovey, 15 July 1789.

Thomas Preston lived at Royal Side, near Leaches' Hill, now called Folly Hill. In deeds he is called weaver, but in his will he is called yeoman. The will is dated 18 Sept. 1769, and proved 5 Jan. 1770. He gave all his personal estate to his wife Rebecca, and the income and improvement of land and buildings to such of his daughters as remained unmarried. After his wife's decease the property was to be divided among his eight daughters; he made his wife Rebecca and son-in-law Jeremiah Foster executors.

The widow Rebecca Preston requested the court, 26 Dec. 1769, by reason of her being "aged and of a weak constitution" to allow her son-in-law Jeremiah Foster

Jun. to serve alone as executor. The real estate was transferred to Mehetable Preston in 1770, indicating that she was the only one unmarried.

Rebecca Preston, of Beverly, widow, sold land and one fifth of a house in Marblehead, adjoining land belonging to her father Richard Gross, deceased, fisherman, to Benjamin Girdler of Marblehead, 5 Jan. 1771. (Essex Deeds, vol. 146, p. 27.)

Mar. 15, 1788, Rebecca Preston, of Beverly, widow, sold land to her daughter Hannah Hovey, of Beverly, widow.

IV. 51. LEVI PRESTON (Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born in Andover, Mass., 25 Oct. 1696; died in Foster, R. I., 6 Dec. 1781; married first, Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut. Benjamin and Elizabeth Harnden, in Reading, Mass., 9 Sept. 1718, who died in Killingly, 3 Apr. 1742; married second, in Killingly, 7 July 1742, Mary Fuller; she died in Foster, 19 Apr. 1782.

Children of Levi and Elizabeth, born in Killingly, Conn.:

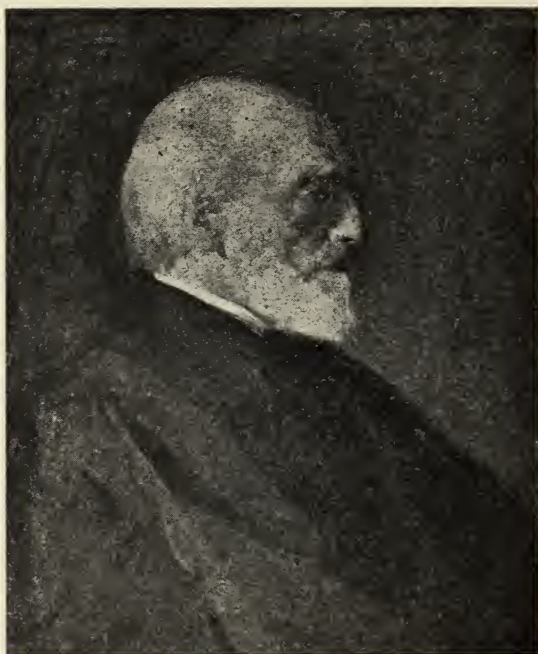
115. SAMUEL (probably oldest child, being mentioned first in his father's will, in 1773).
116. BENJAMIN, b. 12 July 1724; bapt. 14 July 1728, at the ch. on Putnam Heights, Killingly; mentioned in will.
117. SARAH, b. 28 June 1726; bapt. 14 July 1728. ch. Putnam Heights; mentioned in will.
118. DAVID, b. 14 Sept. 1727; bapt. 15 Sept. 1728, ch. Putnam Heights; not mentioned in will.
119. ISAAC, b. 14 Apr. 1731; bapt. 2 Apr. 1732, ch. Putnam Heights; not mentioned in will.
120. DANIEL, b. 26 June 1733; d. young.
121. OTHNIEL, bapt. 22 Jan. 1739, ch. Putnam Heights; mentioned in will.
122. LEVI, b. 7 Sept. 1736; bapt. 22 Jan. 1739, ch. Putnam Heights; mentioned in will.

Children of Levi and Mary:

123. COLBURN, b. 24 May (Mar.?) 1743, Killingly; bapt. 24 Apr. 1743, ch. Putnam Heights; mentioned in will.

*(To be continued.)*





REV. ALFRED PORTER PUTNAM, D.D.

From an oil painting by Caliga, presented to the Society by the family.



## CENTENARY OF REV. DR. ALFRED P. PUTNAM

OBSERVED BY THE SOCIETY, JANUARY 10, 1927.

The one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Alfred Porter Putnam, D.D., founder and first president of this Society, was fittingly observed by a special meeting at the Page House on the evening of January 10th. Appropriate remarks were made by Hon. Alden Perley White, Capt. Henry N. Comey, William B. Sullivan, Esq., Hon. George B. Sears, and President Charles H. Preston; all of whom testified to his sterling worth and to the pleasure and profit they had derived from his friendship. Frank C. Damon also spoke of the value of Dr. Putnam's historical writings. The Secretary of the Society might also have related, had she the gift of fluent speech, her pleasant associations with him in the early days. A letter received from Dr. Putnam in 1893, when the honors of the Secretaryship were first thrust upon her as the successor of Miss Sarah E. Hunt, is still carefully preserved. His gratification upon her acceptance was expressed in such warm terms of appreciation because of the fact that one of the younger generation had shown an interest in his beloved organization that the young secretary-elect felt that it would be a considerable task to live up to the duties and privileges of such an organization. No one could fall under the spell of his enthusiasm in matters historical without sharing with him that great loyalty and devotion to the town of Danvers which he possessed.

Upon this occasion, Alfred W. Putnam, Esq., who had kindly consented to speak upon the life and work of his father, read the following paper, especially prepared for this observance:

I appreciate very much indeed the gracious invitation of the Danvers Historical society to be present at their meeting tonight, which marks the One Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of my father. His interest in and services to your Society were to him a very great pleasure and the organization and future usefulness of the Society were the things nearest his heart and, in spite of his failing strength and the weight of years, he maintained to the end his keen and unflagging devotion to its welfare.

It seems to me appropriate at this time and place in the few remarks which I shall make to speak of him and his work and I know that you will pardon me if I do so, and I know that you will also pardon me if I give the impression that Dr. Putnam was the Danvers Historical Society. I

certainly do not mean to commit such an error. For I have often heard him speak with enthusiasm of the keen interest which his associates took in the project.

If at times his indomitable spirit and tireless energy was irksome, it was only because he had a clearer vision of the possibilities of this society than some of us had; and having put his hand to the plow, he was determined to see the fulfillment of his dream before his end came.

The Danvers Historical society was incorporated on January 5th, 1893, thirty-four years ago. The incorporators were: Alfred P. Putnam, Dudley A. Massey, Israel H. Putnam, Edward C. Ewing, Nathan A. Bushby, Clarissa A. Hale, Sarah W. Mudge, Augustus Mudge, Ellen M. P. Gould, Sarah E. Hunt, Annie G. Newhall, Charles B. Rice, George Tapley, Annie L. Page, Caroline B. Faxon, Mary A. Langley, and Alden Perley White.

Many of these charter members have passed on. Happily, a few of them are still with us. On the date which I have mentioned, January 5th, 1893, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts declared that these persons and their associates and successors should constitute a corporation known as the Danvers Historical Society. This was the formal and outward expression under the seal of the commonwealth of a desire which my father had for a long time looked forward to. It is rather difficult to say just when the idea of forming a Historical Society in his native town, which should be devoted primarily to the research in and study of local history, assumed a conscious purpose. In one sense, that is, in the idea of forming such a corporation, the notion was probably formed in his mind only a few years before the Society actually came into being, but in another sense and a broader one, he had been thinking about it for many years.

I think it is well within the truth to say that Dr. Putnam had the true spirit of the historian. He loved the study of the past. He maintained that the past explained the present and it clearly foretold the future—it showed what ideals to hold and where a wrong course would lead. Local history has a vital, perhaps controlling influence on national history, he believed. For, as a nation is made up of a large number of individuals, so a nation's history is determined by the acts and lives of the men and women who are its citizens.

By local history he meant the traditions of the men and women who, however humble their lot, had contributed to the life of the community. The record of their deeds and

their implements, furniture and furnishings ought to be preserved for the help and instruction of generations to come. Therefore, he saw a direct connection between the daily life of the individual and the history of our country of which we are so proud. With such a faith he held that it was a duty of citizenship to collect and preserve the legends and records of the past. Just as some individuals contribute more than others to our social or civic life, so some communities have contributed more than others to the sum total of that achievement which the historian counts as of vital importance.

Perhaps because he was an intensely loyal son of Danvers who was proud of his birthplace, perhaps because he was very familiar with its history, Dr. Putnam always thought that Danvers had a peculiarly rich past and that it was a moral obligation of its sons and daughters to preserve that past for the help of the state and the guidance of future generations. This could only be done by the establishment of a Historical Society such as yours and Dr. Putnam, with the generous help and encouragement of others, especially the original incorporators, set about to found such a Society.

He was living at that time in Concord, Mass., and I can remember with what anxious care he consulted our neighbor, Judge E. R. Hoar (one of the great legal lights of Massachusetts) about the By-Laws of your society. So the Society was born and I like to think that his zeal and indefatigable work largely contributed towards making it a reality.

Dr. Putnam was the first President of your Society and held that office until his death, thirteen years afterwards. I think that no honor which ever came to him (and he had many) pleased him more than the presidency of the Historical Society of his native town. At the beginning it was naturally a small affair, with rooms in the old bank building and over Perry's store. If he knows now (as I believe he does) that this Society has survived and flourished for over a third of a century and is now housed in this ancient building whose traditions he knew and loved, I am sure that it makes him supremely happy.

I have spoken of Dr. Putnam as thinking in a broad way of the existence of such a Society as this. I mean that for many years, probably from the time when he was a very young man, he had delved into the historical past of Danvers, for it was a study which always had a great fascination for him. His professional work took him away from Danvers, so that for over forty years he lived and worked most strenuously in other regions than here, principally in Brook-

lyn, N. Y. Yet during that time he kept up a most lively interest in this town and never ceased to love its story.

Each summer during all those years he came back to Massachusetts for his vacations and always chose to settle down in some place accessible to Danvers. There he would pursue his favorite and to him absorbing study of your local history and the lives of the men and women who had built the town.

The immediate result of these summer vacations was shown principally in a series of articles which appeared in the Danvers *Mirror* under the title of "Danvers at Home and Abroad." These articles were written in the 70's and 80's and at the time aroused a great deal of interest. I have no doubt that a complete file of them is preserved in the archives of your Society. I commend them to all persons who are interested in the subject, for I think they give a very vivid description of many phases of your local history.

I know that they were written with a great deal of painstaking care and only after infinite research. Of course, there were a great many other articles which Dr. Putnam wrote for the *Mirror*, especially during the time that the late Mr. Shepherd and the late Mr. Moynahan were the editors of that paper. He wrote many letters and also a great deal of material which was never published. He had an almost uncanny ability to extract information from what to many others might have seemed most unpromising sources.

His theory was that every person had some worth while story to tell and if the person was old enough to remember the men and events of the early 19th century, so much the better, for that might enable him to forge one more link in the history of this town, which he so truly loved. Often his habit of talking with elderly people and rummaging among the attics and trunks in old houses led to what he considered remarkable finds.

This trait of his, which I presume is characteristic of the historian; namely, the habit of pursuing diligently every possible clue, enabled him to bring to light, as I think it had never been thoroughly done before, the romantic story of Gen. Moses Porter who perhaps next to General Israel Putnam was the most illustrious son of Danvers. Dr. Putnam found in one of the old attics of Danvers some orderly books which greatly aided him in piecing out the life of General Porter.

In consequence of this, he had voluminous correspondence with the war department at Washington and subsequently wrote, but unfortunately never published, the life of Gen-



eral Porter. It is a stirring story and one full of romance. I doubt if another town in the United States has produced a man who devoted so many years to military life and rendered such unselfish service as General Porter. The development and recording of General Porter's life and work was a loving service which Dr. Putnam rendered to history and to Danvers. Probably his manuscript would make a book of 300 pages.

I have read before the Danvers Historical society a paper based upon Dr. Putnam's "Life of General Porter." All of this took a great many years of diligent and hard, but to him very rewarding work. These two things; namely, the articles of "Danvers at home and abroad," and the "Life of General Porter" were only two, perhaps the most conspicuous ones, of the nature of his work and services to Danvers and they were characteristic of the labors which he performed and which I think laid the foundation or helped to lay the foundation of the establishment of this society, because I cannot help but believe that such work stimulated the interest in the study of local history.

Dr. Putnam had much of the Puritan love of controversy, but it was only the subjects which had a moral aspect to them that interested him or at least those which he thought involved a question of ethical right appealed to him. As an example of what I refer to, early in his career and long before they were popular issues, he espoused the causes of abolition and women's suffrage and later the cause of anti-imperialism, which was much discussed shortly after the Spanish war. Perhaps many of this audience will recall the meeting of such of the abolitionists as were then living, which was held in April, 1893. This gathering, which was a most unique tribute to one of the most interpid bands of men and women who ever enlisted in an unpopular cause, emphasized the fact that Danvers was early a hot bed of abolition and so this meeting, arranged with infinite plans and much labor by Dr. Putnam, was a direct service to this town.

The meeting was held under the auspices of this Society and is one of many notable events of your career. The proceedings were published in a volume entitled "Old Anti-Slavery Days." The editing of this book by Dr. Putnam was no small task.

This intense feeling on his part of a desire to participate in controversies of a moral nature was well illustrated by the way in which he became absorbed in the subject of the

command at Bunker Hill. He believed most earnestly that the American forces in the battle of Bunker Hill were commanded by and that the chief glory of that fight should go to General Israel Putnam and he felt that it was only by a gross preversion of history and a most immoral one that the myth, as he regarded it, of Colonel Prescott's supreme command has been established.

My father contended that General Putnam was the real commander and that Colonel Prescott, who undoubtedly was present and rendered valuable service, was inferior in command and should not be accorded the pre-eminence which some historians and many school books have given him. Dr. Putnam felt that American history was being written in such a way that one of its chief heroes was being denied the honor which was really his and it outraged him to think that a son of Danvers who was really entitled to that honor should be denied it.

So this question of the command at Bunker Hill had a two-fold appeal for him. It appealed to his sense as a historian for he conceived it as his duty for the sake of accurate historical scholarship to correct what he was convinced was a gross error, likely to become permanent, and he was doubly glad that he could take up the cudgels for a Danvers man and help to give him and this town the honor which he thought it deserved. All of this story was told in a series of letters to the *Mirror*, which that paper afterwards printed under the title of "General Israel Putnam and the Command at Bunker Hill." I think you will agree with me that this pamphlet is a masterly presentation of the evidence and although partisan in its tone, it is an absorbingly interesting story of a most important point in American history.

I know that I am well within the truth when I say that Danvers and its history was Dr. Putnam's first and last love. At the very end of his long, strenuous and useful life his main thought was of this society and its welfare.

His children, for whom I speak, like to think that his memory is closely associated with such a stable institution as this society in an age when so few things are permanent. To perpetuate that memory, and as an expression of our deep appreciation for the wealth of kindness which you and your predecessors showed him, we of his lineage beg that you will accept this portrait of him, painted by your former fellow townsman, Mr. I. H. Caliga. We hope that it may help to keep alive the studies and to further the cause which Dr. Putnam had so much at heart.

## HISTORIC CELLAR HOLES.

BY ALBERT VIRGIL HOUSE

It is surprising how, in matters of local history, one thing leads to another. One no sooner becomes interested in one phase than other phases are brought to light and stand by with insistent questioning. I have felt this particularly in connection with the subject of my last article in the Danvers Historical Collections and that which I now present. Study of "Forgotten Paths in Danvers" continuously disclosed evidence of old time habitations which had passed or were passing out of the public mind. Some of these had been the homes of important people or the scenes of significant events. What could be more fitting than to present, so far as in my power, the facts in regard to these "Historic Cellar Holes"? At the same time there was open question as to just where certain people had lived and certain events occurred. Why not include this phase also in my field of interest?

I found that investigation along these lines differed from a study of Forgotten Paths in one important respect.

As regards old roads we perforce depend largely on tradition. Public records on such matters are painfully inadequate. "My grandfather remembered" is about as close as we can come to certainty on many interesting problems. Concerning historic cellar holes we are in much better case. Tradition is more or less full and gives a valuable contribution. Also land titles can be traced back and in most instances inquiry be fairly satisfied. In cases of conflict between tradition and public records the latter are of course the more authoritative. Fixed tradition as to a major fact is always to be treated with respect. Yet one must recognize that many times tradition, as modern gossip, may have been warped in transmission, or even have been started irresponsibly. For example, a name and a date and an ownership attached to a house by one not making due investigation, or given with becoming tentativeness, may be accepted by others, especially future generations, as established facts. Hence when a tradition is traversed by a legal record, the latter must be held determinative. Perhaps it is needless to emphasize that the record must have no element of haziness, or its word is not conclusive against a long standing tradition. In such a case the student will take his choice

## MATERIAL

Interest has been lent to my quest by the kindness of Mr. William B. Sullivan of Danvers, who placed in my hands a map drawn by Joseph Burnap, a Reading surveyor, of date August 5, 1730.

The survey, caused by litigation which does not concern us here, covers two hundred and fifty-eight acres centering in a general way at the Salem Village meeting house, now the First church of Danvers, and provides interesting information as to the homes then occupied within that section. But it does more. Every here and there it indicates a "siller" or "seler" with the name attached, showing that as early as 1730 many homes had been built and had already fallen away. Some of the "sellers" herein located I shall mention in my study. The map is clearly drawn and is as legible as though made only last week. I wish for historical purposes we might have a cut of it in our magazine.

Also in my investigations I have made use of Upham's map in his "Witchcraft in Salem Village" and such material as appears in the text of the book. I have been impressed anew with the great good fortune of Danvers in having her early history covered with such insight and comprehensive knowledge as in Mr. Upham's work. This tribute can be extended to include Rev. Dr. C. B. Rice and his History of the First Parish. Few towns have been so favored. At the same time Mr. Sidney Perley has done a painstaking and exhaustive work which must be consulted if one would know the facts as brought out by later research. His "Salem Village in 1700" and "History of Salem," the first two volumes of which have been published, have given me invaluable assistance. Mr. Perley has with great generosity helped me in personal conferences and has eased my fear of imposition by the gracious claim that my problems were his own.

Miss Harriet Tapley's "Chronicles of Danvers" is a repository of information which no future historian will overlook.

Moreover I am indebted to Mrs. Lydia Putnam, who, through the special favor of her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Ernest E. Putnam, made available for me the treasured papers of her uncle, the late Moses Prince. I found among them a history of the personal holdings along certain highways in our neighborhood which gave me some things I had long been looking for. That paper too might well be published some day.

I have consulted that mine of glowing historical material in the records of the Probate Court and Registry of Deeds



in the Essex County Court House in Salem and, finally, have, as when looking up "forgotten paths" persecuted my friends with telephone calls and face to face interviews. If my investigation shall seem to any to have been toilsome I wish all to know that in prosecuting my research I have had "the time of my life." And, moreover, aside from my personal spontaneous interest, the fact of a similar interest in the minds of many others, especially in our Historical Society, has lent lightness to my labors.

I treat my subject under four heads, the first of which is

1. SITES NOT CONNECTED WITH INDIVIDUALS OR  
HISTORIC EVENTS

In the article on Forgotten Paths I cited a traditional Skelton Felton house which had stood, before 1731, "westwardly" of the Lindens, near the intersection of two ways, the one coming down from Felton Hill to Salem Village and the other starting at Mr. Endicott's Orchard Farm and leading to the west. The location of this house is important as indicating the course of the two roads cited. At that time I indicated only the general position of the house. I now wish to place it more definitely. Daniel H. Felton says, "His (Skelton Felton's) house was on the northern side (of Andover Turnpike) on high ground near the swamp land and less than a mile from the starting point of the turnpike at Prospect Street." From this description there seems only one point to be entertained as the location of the house; that is in from Andover Street on its northerly side, well out toward Crane brook, above the brow of the gravel pit opened when the present concrete road was made. This point meets all necessities. It is on high ground, near the swamp land and the proper distance from Felton's Corner. Also it is the only possible location under those data. The excavation for gravel has brought the edge of the pit close under this point, making it seemingly a difficult and inconvenient position for a house but before the pit was opened the mound or hill of gravel extended out a considerable distance to the rear of the site where I have located the buildings. Moreover there seems to be a cellar hole, not demonstrably such, but reasonably so considered. It has been so filled in by stones and debris from the surrounding fields that it would require a Schlie-mann expedition to Troy to determine its real character. I can only say "it seems." But there is yet another consideration which aids my conclusion, namely, the place is just above a brook which flows into the upper Crane river near by, which would have supplied water for domestic purposes. This is

## AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION

The homes of our first settlers were almost invariably near springs or running water. It will appear as we go on that this fact is sometimes of decisive influence in the endeavor to locate early homes.

I turn next to a consideration of the so-called

## MARIA GOODHUE HOUSE

on North Street. The interest attaching to this, as in the case of the Skelton Felton house, is not connected with individuals or historic events. It rather arises from the fact that the house was a particularly good specimen of the leanto type of domestic architecture. In the words of another, "It interested students of architecture by reason of the unusual plaster coving under the front eaves and the large, nicely worked chimney stack of Tudor origin." An important landmark disappeared when it was burned in recent years. It stood where is now the "root cellar" near the farm house of the Dudley Rogers estate. It is said to have been built by Deacon Benjamin Putnam in 1690 and in my paper on The Leanto House I accepted that tradition. But certain facts noted since that writing have led me to question its authenticity. Upham's map of Salem Village in 1692 places John Putnam 3rd on the lot we associate with the Goodhue house and Deacon Benjamin easterly of it and on the other side of North Street. Mr. Upham, if correct in this, is still apparently wrong in placing Benjamin there quite so early, for Mr. Sidney Perley, while assigning him the same land as Upham, indicates that he did not own there till 1695, when it was deeded to him by his father Nathaniel. As to the lot, reckoned on the foregoing basis, on which the Goodhue house stood—before coming into Putnam hands it had an interesting history. It was at one time owned by Capt. Thomas Lothrop, of "Bloody Brook" fame. Thence descending to his sister Ellen, wife of Ezekiel Cheever, the distinguished Boston schoolmaster, it was finally bought by Capt. John Putnam in 1682. Captain John built a house upon it for his son, John 3rd, who was living there in 1694. John 3rd received it by deed in 1695. Now by the diary of Parson Joseph Green the house of John Putnam 3rd was burned April 1, 1709. This, it would appear, was the predecessor of the Goodhue house which must have been built subsequent to 1709 and on land owned by John Putnam 3rd.

Hesitating to record such a divergence from accepted thought without more conclusive evidence I had recourse to

the Registry of Deeds and there undertook to trace back from Maria Goodhue the lineage of the lot in question, with the result that I found John Putnam 3rd at the other end of the line. Again fearing to trust myself in such complex work I submitted my findings to an expert who confirmed my conclusion. Now reversing my process and tracing forward, the land and buildings became by inheritance or purchase the property of the following—John Putnam 3rd, Caleb Putnam, Peter Putnam, Peter Putnam, Richard Derby, Jr., Benjamin Putnam, Jr., Amos Porter, Joseph Porter, Joseph Porter, Ruth Porter, Daniel and Maria Goodhue, Maria Goodhue.

The tradition that the house was built by Deacon Benjamin Putnam may have arisen from the fact that he, Benjamin, held land adjoining and incontestibly lived not far away. But, however accounted for, it must be set aside. The evidence points to John Putnam 3rd as the builder of this notable old house—and its date sometime after 1709, when his former house was burned.

Our next main division has to do with places

## II WHERE INTEREST ATTACHES TO FIRST SETTLERS AND OLD FAMILIES

Under this head the name that comes first to our thought is that of Governor John Endicott. He received a grant of 300 acres from the Great and General Court in 1632, and erected the first dwelling in what is now Danvers. His land was located on the lower stretch of the Cow house, now the Waters river and was known as the Orchard Farm. It was distinctly a summer estate and the distinguished owner lavished great care upon it. His visits to and from Salem proper were made in a shallop which came to anchor at the mouth of a little brook making back from the river on the northerly side. Up this brook a short distance was the spring, still flowing, where water for the household was obtained. How gladly would we learn the exact location of the house! But this is beyond possibility. One can hear all sorts of stories as to the site and is even told that a remnant of the house was incorporated with buildings now standing. But all this must be set aside. Probably no part of the house has been preserved, and as to where it stood we can say nothing more definite than Miss Harriet Tapley has said in *Chronicles of Danvers*, "The house was situated on a knoll overlooking the beautiful streams of water, across the street from the house now standing on the estate." Af-

ter all that will measurably satisfy the antiquarian, for the field is small and one can be sure of being pretty close to the spot sought.

One of the most important figures of our early history is that of John Porter who bought the Skelton grant in Danversport in 1643 and became the largest landowner in Salem. He is spoken of in the Colonial records as "of good repute for piety, integrity and estate." He was the founder of the Porter family that has played so large a part in the life of our community, and his descendants are still with us in goodly number. John Porter built a house in 1647 on the Danvers river near Bay View Avenue. This was a large house of the leanto type, with immense chimney and unusually great kitchen fireplace. The house remained in the Porter family till 1795 when it became the property of Caleb Oakes. Unfortunately it was burned in 1865, being owned at that time by Alfred Trask. Its span of life covered two hundred and eighteen years. We could well wish that it were with us today a monument to a sturdy pioneer and the strength of Colonial life.

Another early settler in whom we are interested is Richard Hutchinson. In former studies I have spoken of him as the builder of the Francis A. Kimball house on Forest Street in the year 1636. I formed my view on grounds which now would not seem to me conclusive, but I was newer at this form of study then than now and may be pardoned a mistake. I am sorry that I have attached a wrong date to that old house, certainly a Hutchinson house but not built by Richard. My error as to the site of the original Richard Hutchinson house was disclosed to me by the paper from the hand of Moses Prince, referred to in my introduction. He placed Richard Hutchinson at about the end of Pine Street where it joins Maple, and I find this established by Mr. Perley. Under a study (Hist. Coll. Vol. 7) of the Sarah Whipple house, a title which does not indicate a revelation as to Richard Hutchinson, Mr. Perley records that this house was conveyed by Richard Hutchinson to his son John Hutchinson in 1666 and that the grantor speaks of it as "my now dwelling house." Sarah, the daughter of John Hutchinson, married Joseph Whipple and the house became known of that name. It stood in the course of Maple Street as it now runs, about 200 feet westerly of the railroad bridge and was removed when that highway was straightened in 1808.

In this immediate neighborhood there probably once stood



a home of at least equal interest with that of Richard Hutchinson. Mr. Eben Putnam writes me—"I suppose the first house in Danvers aside from Endicott's may have stood on the ridge as you go along Maple Street overlooking the meadow, now part of the Oak Knoll place. Mr. Andrew Nichols I think told me he thought Richard Waterman had located there." If we only knew exactly where it was!

The home of Joseph Hutchinson, son of Richard, has also disappeared from mortal sight. Joseph owned the meadows southerly of Whipple Hill and gave the land for the first meeting house. He was a man of considerable importance in the church and life of Salem Village and I have long wished to know exactly where he was domiciled. The site can be located approximately, but only so. The late Andrew Nichols told me that it was a few rods southerly of the first meeting house and that he "could go and stand on it."

This location is borne out by Burnap, the surveyor of 1730 already spoken of, who has a line projected a short distance straight out from the front of the first meeting house on Hobart Street, just beyond the present Carr dwelling, and, under a drawing of a house, says "here is an old seler that was Joseph Huchason's as I am Informed in which his father Richard Huchason dyed."

Alas that I did not take Mr. Nichols at his word and invite him to go with me and stand on the spot!

Another house that allures us is that of Job Swinerton, first of the name in Salem Village, who received a grant of land in 1650. This lay to the north of Felton Hill, and under that slightly eminence. The house is commonly thought to have stood just to the south of the railroad on the line of the old highway that came over from the Jasper Pope, present Looney, place and went under the railroad by the first underpass west of the Collins Street station, (underpass now closed up) and thence on up the slopes of Felton Hill, a branch debouching to the right and surmounting Cook's Hill. A house from this site was moved some years ago to Danversport and is now standing. Mary Swinerton married Nathaniel Pope and became the mother of Amos Pope, of almanac fame, born February 20, 1772. Mary and Nathaniel Pope are said to have lived for a time in the house above mentioned, though their son Amos first saw the light in the Jasper Pope house. Was this old house the original Job Swinerton home? Apparently not, for Upham marks the house on the same lot in 1692 S. M. meaning thereby "standing within the memory of people now living." The

house then had disappeared a long time before the day of Upham's writing, 1867. So of course the building removed to Danversport was not the original house. Was it on the original site? Upham says nothing on that point. Perley declares that the exact location has not been determined. Another surmise then is open to us. Some distance up the railroad in the direction of Needham's cut, on the left, are distinct marks of a human habitation. The cellar walls and chimney foundation are clearly seen. Here a sizable brook flows through arable fields. A good place for a home! May not Job Swinerton have so esteemed it and acted accordingly? We have no evidence that he did other than a word transmitted through many years, tracing back to one man. Mr. Joseph Martin, of West Peabody, who is much interested in matters of early history and who years ago worked for the late Jasper Pope tells me that he, Jasper Pope, told him, Joseph Martin, that the place marked by the cellar hole above cited was the original Swinerton place. I admit that this ground is somewhat tenuous but on this supposition we have the two cellar holes accounted for and apart from it this upper one is unexplained. If the building of houses had always appeared on the records we might know definitely but, since that often fails us, we shall have to remain in uncertainty.

That at least one Swinerton house disappeared is established in Miss Tapley's article on "Job Swinerton . . . and Some of His Descendants." She there states that Job passed his life at the Village, where he died in 1689. "A private record in the possession of the Swinerton family states that when Job and his wife Elizabeth were aged and infirm their house 'took fire on the roof in the absence of their family and, before they discovered it, all retreat from the doors was cut off. Mr. Swinerton escaped from the window, holding his wife's hand, but did not succeed in rescuing her from the flames. When the son returned he found his father sitting on a rock, viewing the smoking coals, and on inquiring for his mother, his father replied, she has gone to heaven in a chariot of fire.'"

The past will hold its secret but we are free to speculate as to whether this house consumed by flames might not have stood on the upper site as indicated by Jasper Pope to Joseph Martin and the one on the traditional Job Swinerton lot have had its origin in the tragedy noted.

## JOHN PUTNAM

A yet more interesting study has to do with the location of the home of John Putnam, the father of the distinguished Putnam family. Local tradition places it on the westerly side of Summer Street, between the present Oak Knoll mansion and the James Putnam house, latterly called Putnam Lodge. An old well and a noble elm mark the spot. Some elderly people recall the house of the leanto type which stood here and which was taken down by Mr. W. A. Lander when he purchased the Oak Knoll estate about 1850. Mr. Eben Putnam, in a very gracious and extended letter, endorses this tradition and supports it by the witness of a "remote cousin" John A. Putnam. John A. Putnam moreover declared that Summer Street passed over the site of the old house, the street having been straightened after its removal. The tradition is clear and apparently settles the matter. But can we be sure on that ground? Concededly there is much to support the tradition. This was incontestibly Putnam property as far back as the early seventeen hundreds. But that very fact might give rise to a misconception. Now that the question is raised we may look into the merits of the case.

Was the "Lander" house, meaning the house taken down by Mr. Lander, the original John Putnam home?

This question first came to me on inspecting Mr. Perley's map of this section in "Salem Village in 1900." He there places the site of the first John Putnam home on the easterly side of Summer Street, up the lane that runs between the farm house and barn of the Oak Knoll estate. Mr. Perley has stated privately that the house probably stood to the left of the lane and just beyond the brook. Here, he says, there were discernible twenty years ago, indications of a human habitation which have since been obliterated. Upham's map of Salem Village in 1692 seems to be in accord with Perley in the fact that it seems to put Captain John Putnam, son of the first John, at the same point, except that the house is placed on the other side of the lane. Mr. Upham locates James Putnam, son of Capt. John, apparently where the Lander house stood.

## "LANDER" HOUSE NOT ON ORIGINAL PUTNAM LAND

While the Putnams ultimately came into possession of that "parcel of land" Mr. Upham is a bit early in placing them there in 1692, if Mr. Perley's drawings are correct. Mr. Perley has exercised the utmost care in delimiting every

grant and transfer of land within his purview, projecting lines on paper with the most delicate and accurate instruments. He has taken up every item of land by itself and outlined it without regard to other tracts. He has had no "ax to grind," caring only for the facts; with the strikingly confirmatory outcome that all measurements fit into one another in the completed whole. His results, as applying to the point at issue, indicate that the line of the early Putnam tract was much closer to the present Oak Knoll mansion than supposed and that all the land on which the Lander and James Putnam houses stood, and so, also Wadsworth cemetery, was within the original grant to the Porters. If the Putnams were to come into possession of it they would have to do so by purchase. There is evidence that they did this very thing.

#### PUTNAM BUYS OF PORTER

On February 4, 1714, Israel Porter sold to James Putnam, Sr., his brother in law, "three and one half acres . . . upon which land the said James Putnam hath lately built a house for his son, James Putnam, the said land being butted and bounded northerly on land of said Putnam, easterly on the highway (Summer Street, just put through, A. V. H.) southerly and westerly upon my own land." This lot was deeded by James Sr., to his son, James Jr., April 4, 1715. One might think that this was what we know as the James Putnam place—but let us not be hasty. Jethro Putnam, youngest brother of James, Jr., is known to have lived on the land between Putnam Lodge and Oak Knoll, presumably in the old house said to have been the original Putnam home. And it appears that the three and a half acres of the foregoing sale, rather than being the land on which Putnam Lodge stands, was in fact that parcel of land later occupied by Jethro, and that the house built by James Sr. for James Jr. was the house thought of as the home of the first John Putnam. We are led to this conclusion by the fact of a later sale along the line of Summer Street.

In a deed recorded June, 1719, Israel Porter cedes to James Putnam, Jr., a tract of five acres which, Mr. Perley assures me, is the lot adjoining the aforesaid three and a half acres on the south and covering the site of the present Putnam Lodge. Mr. Eben Putnam in his letter to me puts the date of that building as about 1720, which chimes exactly with the foregoing. Now, combining the two sales, we have a strip of eight and a half acres extending along the line



of Summer Street from the upper boundary of Wadsworth cemetery or thereabouts to a point north of the old house destroyed by Mr. Lander, said to have been the first home of the Putnams, all of which was Porter land up to the second decade of the eighteenth century. On this interpretation John Putnam the first could not have lived where tradition places him and our only alternative is to agree with Upham and Perley in placing him on the lane to the east of Summer Street.

On one point a further word is needed. It would seem that James, Jr., did not long occupy the house given him by his father, which at some time and in some way came into the hands of his youngest brother Jethro, James build-for himself the oldest part of what we know as the James Putnam house. There is no evidence of this beyond the facts adduced. That is, we have no record of a transfer from James to Jethro or to any one else through whom it might have come to Jethro. But it was a more or less common thing for deeds to go unrecorded. There are scores and hundreds of unregistered deeds in the Court House in Salem and in the Essex Institute. Mr. Eben Putnam tells me that his relative, John A. Putnam, found in the attic of the Lander house, when it was about to be demolished, two barrels full of old papers. After making a few selections he sold the rest to the junk man. "He always regretted it, as there were deeds, commissions, etc., of which he later recognized the value." By a happy accident the father of Eben Putnam, then a boy, was at the paper mills in Middleton when this load of junk came in. "Seeing some Putnam papers he bought all he could afford. He selected deeds and commissions." Mr. Eben Putnam has these papers today. Please note that "deeds" were in the pile of junk. Some were rescued. Others may have been lost. But however that is, the above facts indicate the laxness of the times in such matters. And there was special reason for failure to record in this instance, as it was "all in the family" anyway. We conclude then that the fact that no transfer has been found is not conclusive against the view here given.

Jethro became the father of Col. Enoch Putnam, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, and the place is sometimes called by Col. Enoch's name "even unto this day."

The house saw a notable history and might well have been preserved for its old time associations. So, while we are locating John Putnam's "cellar hole" in another than

this, the commonly accepted spot, the old elm and the well by the side of Summer Street mark the scene of chapters in the story of our town worthy in themselves of commemoration. By our study we are simply adding one more to the already large number of Putnam shrines.

#### LIEUT. THOMAS PUTNAM

Thomas, son of John Putnam first, is associated with several points of historic interest. He and his brother Nathaniel divided, in 1669, a large tract near the Ipswich river left them by their father. On his portion, Mr. Perley says, Thomas "built a house and lived in it till he erected in 1678 a new house beyond the brook by the river, in which he afterwards lived." The first of these houses was between the site of the G. H. Peabody place of recent days and the hill to the east, where Warren Putnam now lives, which in my paper on *Forgotten Paths* I have called Brabrook Hill. This house Thomas Putnam turned over to his son Serj. Thomas in the year named, 1678. Thomas the younger was newly married at that time and his father took this way of providing a home for the young couple, he himself moving in to the "house beyond the brook by the river." This latter one was on the grounds of the present colony connected with the Danvers State Hospital. I am told that the house was slightly up from the brook on its westerly side, near the farm house now standing there, and has long since disappeared. L't. Thomas' son Edward, the Deacon Edward of later times, having married in 1681, his father shortly did the right thing for him and his bride and left them to the occupancy of the newly opened place. Mr. Perley states that in "1682 or earlier" Lieut. Thomas built the Gen. Israel Putnam house and lived in it. This would be following his law of progress from place to place. But this date is in conflict with the Putnam tradition which assigns that house to the year 1648, though of course Mr. Perley opens a loophole for reconciliation in the word "earlier." He does not say how much earlier. It will probably be answered here that, while Thomas doubtless built the two former houses for his sons Thomas and Edward, he did so in accordance with the custom conspicuous in the Putnam family whereby fathers were wont to set up their sons in this way, and never lived in them, he himself occupying all the while the family homestead under Hathorne Hill. As to that I can only say that Mr. Perley does not introduce such an expression as "lived in it" unless the record

gives warrant. I do not know enough about the personal history of Thomas Putnam to say more. And I cannot here indulge in an effort to reconcile Perley and the Putnams. My only endeavor is to point out some relationship between the Serj. Thomas and Deacon Edward houses and Lieut. Thomas. He certainly built them for we have the deeds of the two places from him to his sons. In the classic words that much "at least is secure." Moreover the two places in discussion are of great interest because of associations having nothing to do with Thomas Putnam. The home of Deacon Edward commands our devoted attention on the ground of Edward's character and service to the early community; while the home of Serj. Thomas, nestling under Brabrook hill, is invested with solemn interest because of tragic connection with the witchcraft delusion.

#### THE HOME OF ANN PUTNAM

It will be remembered that Serjeant Thomas was the father of Ann Putnam, the young girl who played so large a part as an accuser of alleged witches in 1692. It has been held that her home at that time was the so-called Crawford house, which formerly stood just across Dayton Street from the colony in the angle formed by the Crawford road and the way entering the colony grounds at this point. The house has been moved from its original site to the colony premises. Records disclose that Serj. Thomas built this house in 1697 and in that year sold his former place to Samuel Brabrook. Hence he was living in the last named in 1692 and this now deserted spot was the home of Ann Putnam in witchcraft times.

#### PHELPS' MILL. THE POPE PLACE

Few houses within the limits of old Salem Village have such glamour of interest arising out of connection with families and individuals as the old Pope place in West Peabody. The district in which it stood now goes by the title of Phelps' Mill. The name is that of the family that very early came into possession of the place. The mill was on Norris brook near where it issues from Crystal Lake. It was here as early as 1681, though whether built by Phelps or later by Popes we cannot say. The cellar hole of the old house is on the right of Lowell Street, as one goes westerly, just before it crosses the brook, with the mill on the opposite side of the stream. When Quaker missionaries visited Salem in the year 1658 they were wel-

came by the people "in the woods" as this portion of Salem was then called. The missionaries "preached of repentance and forgiveness of sin through Christ and of the joy of the spiritual life" and as the people of the Phelps neighborhood were far distant from the mother church they seized the opportunity to have religious services of their own, some of the meetings being held in the Phelps home. Converts were made by the Quakers, among whom was Nicolas Phelps who, with his brother Henry, held this property. Nicolas paid a heavy fine for his apostacy and in consequence his brother became full owner. He in turn, in 1664, sold the place to Joseph Pope and it remained in the Pope family for 129 years. It returned after that long period to the Phelps and "Francis Phelps took down the ancient house in 1856" (Perley). Mrs. Maria Putnam Hood has in her possession an oil painting of this historic home. Her interest has its occasion especially in the fact that Israel Putnam, the great soldier, here found his bride, Hannah Pope, in 1739, and her own father, Deacon William R. Putnam, an even century later, courted and won her mother in the same house. A drawing made from Mrs. Hood's picture appears herewith.

The buildings later erected have been burned and now there is nothing to suggest to the passerby the wealth of historic association attaching to the spot. But the memory of the old mill and the old house should never fade from the mind of Danvers people.

I now turn from our study of sites associated with first settlers and old families to certain ones connected with

### III THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION

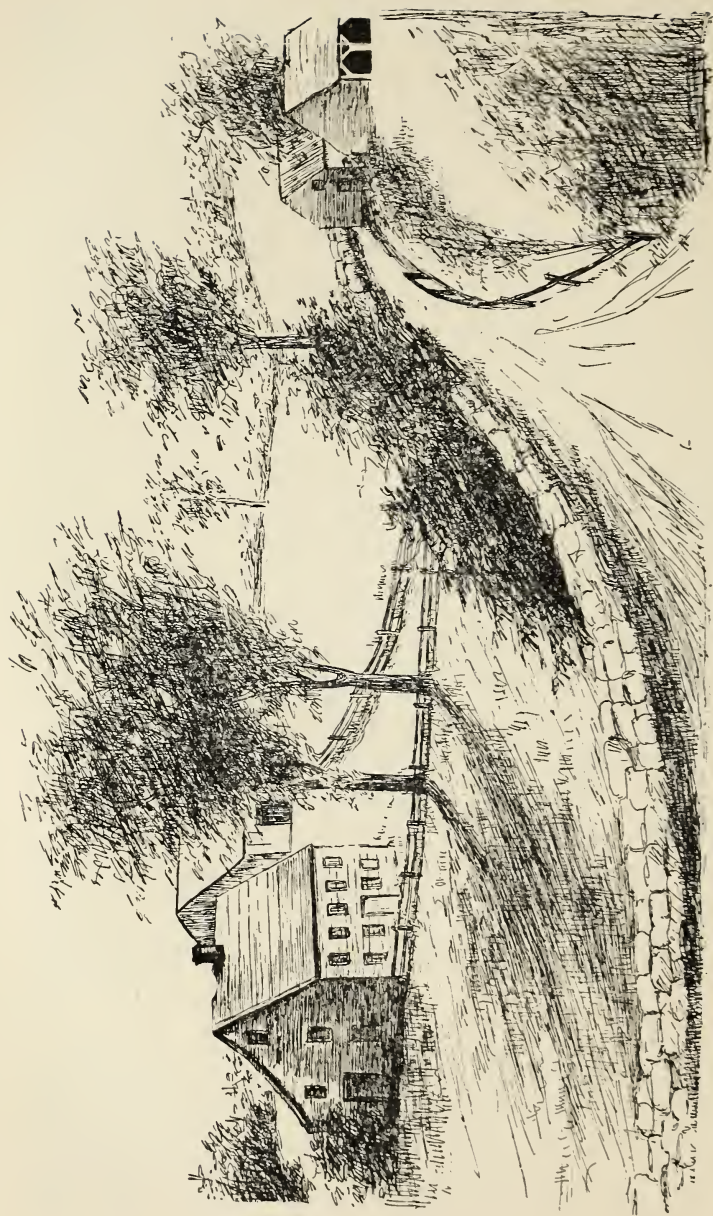
Some of these places are well known and most all of them can be ascertained by investigation. There is no need for exhaustive work. But certain of those which shall engage us are of preeminent interest and properly have place, while others, one or two, are so remote and devoid of outward indication as to demand rescue from the oblivion in which they have long been shrouded.

#### ANN PUTNAM AGAIN

Taking this latter caption first I remind you of what I have said as regards the home of Ann Putnam in 1692. This was easterly of the G. H. Peabody farm or westerly of Brabrook Hill, just as you wish to put it. But that does not tell all the story. Knowing the place in this general way I had tramped all over the designated ground again and







THE PHELPS-POPE HOUSE

again without finding the least sign of the Ann Putnam home—when I happened to discover in my files a word given me by the late Andrew Nichols which I had forgotten. This was that Moses Prince, in whom Mr. Nichols had absolute confidence, had said that the Samuel Brabrook, what I have called the Ann Putnam, house had stood about twenty rods east of the Augustus Peabody place. This latter was the house across the street from the G. H. Peabody house, known to some as the Daniel Tapley place. Following this out I found, nearer the swamp than I had been looking, the foundation long sought. The brook coming down from the hill, though now partly lost in the sedge of the meadow, was then to supply water to this pioneer establishment.

#### PETER CLOYSE

Another witchcraft site long hidden was that of the home of Peter Cloyse, whose wife, Sarah Towne, a sister of Rebecca Nurse, was convicted of being a witch, though happily she escaped execution. The place was indicated on Upham's map—but to put my foot on it was another thing. I could not find a single person who knew the exact spot. One day, taking a roadway which opens on the right of Wenham Street a little beyond the Putnamville station, I followed its alluring path about half a mile until I came upon an orchard belonging to Mr. William Carleton and an open country reaching down to Frost Fish Brook and beyond. Here I searched within a wide range long and fruitlessly. Had it not been for a school boy whose sharp eyes had detected what I could not find I might never have succeeded. Seeing a group of lads at play back on Wenham Street I put my question to them and one of them exclaimed, "I know where it is," and, guiding me through brush and debris gathered from the fields, he brought me to the old cellar and chimney foundation. The place is far in and to the left of Mr. Carleton's orchard and stands just above the running brook, the great essential of the olden time. I have since taken Mr. Perley with me to the spot and Mr. Frank H. White has visited it at my suggestion. The judgment of both accords with mine.

Peter Cloyse and wife were charter members of the Church of Christ in Salem Village—the First Church of Danvers. They kept their home here only a year after the witchcraft troubles. The place passed into other hands and probably ceased to be occupied before 1737. It gradually passed out of the public mind and for many years its vestment of sorrowful memories has been unnoted, the only reminder of

them being that the meadow by the brook above which it lies has been taxed as the "Cloyse meadow" down to the present time.

GEORGE JACOBS, JR.

Not far from the Cloyse cellar hole, on the northerly side of the brook, is another site associated with witchcraft times. It is reached by a second road from Wenham Street, a little further on than the one leading to the Cloyse place. There is evidence of a large house and farm buildings. It is called today the "old Shillaber place." Upham here locates George Jacobs, Jr. the son of the old man, George Jacobs, whose life was sacrificed to the vain delusion. Upham is our only authority for believing that the younger Jacobs lived here in 1692. Per contra, there is no evidence that he owned the home where Upham places him and we are led to wonder just how he came there. The history of the farm and of the family relationships of Jacobs may help us here.

I have traced the ownership of the place back from William Shillaber, who died some time between 1832 and 1841, to Bartholomew Rea who transferred it to Thomas Andrew in 1732. Rea figures in the case because his wife was a daughter of Daniel Andrew and she had inherited from her father a portion of his estate. Thomas Andrew to whom she and her husband deeded the property was her brother. Her father Daniel was the son of the Daniel Andrew who, in 1692, lived on Wenham Street about where the house of Mr. George Hooper now stands, not far from the place we are considering. Apparently up to that time, 1732, the place had been kept within the Andrew family, as it certainly was for many years thereafter. As to the relation of George Jacobs, Jr. to it we have an explanation in Upham when he speaks of him as a "friend, near neighbor and connection" of Daniel Andrew. The will of George Jacobs, Sr. speaks of a John Andrew as his son-in-law. I do not find just who John Andrew was but if he was the son of Daniel, as is highly probable, the connection Upham has in mind was a fairly close one. The fact of family relationship might account for the younger Jacobs having domicile in what seems to have been an Andrew home. Further color to the claim that Jacobs was neighbor to the Andrew family is given by his association with Daniel Andrew in fleeing from apprehension for witchcraft. Both were under accusation and the constable was on his way to



take them in charge when Andrew, getting notice of his approach, together with Jacobs "effected his escape and found refuge in a foreign country" (Upham).

The wife of George Jacobs, Jr. suffered grave hardship in the witchcraft persecution. She was taken, in a deranged state of mind, from her lonely home, forced to leave her four children to the care of neighbors, and thrown into a dungeon, where she was kept for many months, being finally brought to trial and acquitted.

When I gave my address before the Historical Society on the subject of this paper I made only incidental reference to the connection of this point with George Jacobs, Jr. stressing rather the supposed fact of its marking the home of the Shillabers, distinguished in the history of our town. Since then I have learned that, while indeed a Shillaber once lived here, the noted men of that name had had their home in the Peabody portion of old Danvers. I am grateful for the correction but still hold that it is worth one's while to stroll down the winding old road from Wenham Street and visit this secluded and sightly spot.

#### OTHER SITES CONNECTED WITH WITCHCRAFT

The first meeting house of the Church of Christ in Salem Village should command our attention by virtue of the fact that it sheltered our fathers in the first religious gatherings in our town. But a more somber interest attaches to it. It was the scene of the preliminary trials for witchcraft. There came the colonial dignitaries in all the pomp of authority and power and there the innocent victims from the surrounding countryside endured the first of that suffering which ended for so many in imprisonment and death. As a matter of undying historic interest the site should be carefully pointed out. The house stood just beyond the present Carr dwelling at the corner of Hobart and Forest Street, about an eighth of a mile eastward of the present church edifice. No traces remain, the place having long been covered by garden and orchard. It were well, it seems to me, that a marker be set up to indicate the spot.

Samuel Parris, the pastor of the Village Church in 1692, had his home off Center Street, near the present meeting house. The place is reached by a lane or right of way which leads in from the street from a point just beyond the present home of Mrs. Emma Roberts. The house stood at the left of the lane a few rods in. Until within a few years the cellar hole had been preserved but now it has been filled

in by the plow. It can still be definitely located. How long that shall continue no one can say. The passing of this generation might remove all who could speak with accuracy. This place also, it seems to me, should be indicated by a marker. I know that Samuel Parris, owing to an irascible and assertive temper and seeming animosity in the prosecution of those accused as witches, has not had enviable standing down through the years, but that fact should not weigh against the historical element involved. Every year visitors inquire for the spot and it should be identified—for this and succeeding generations.

Over on the other side of Felton Hill, just at the right of the old highway, now barely discernible, which comes down from the hill, just before it crosses Lowell Street, thence going on by the old Jacobs place toward Suntaug Lake, stood the home of John Proctor. The old well is still there. John Proctor was an impressive figure and the gloom of the witchcraft days is shot through with the light of his noble manhood. Here again a tablet would not be unfitting.

#### CAROLINA JOHN PUTNAM. THE HOUSE OF HARMONY

But, as Browning says, "The best is yet to be." We turn from the aspects of tragedy to those of high Christian victory. The people of Salem Village were children of their day and acted according to the impulses common to the humanity of their time. They had the great misfortune to have focused among them the forces of cruel superstition. Later generations, released from the oppressive load of error by which they were weighed down, have wrongfully visited them with scorn and contumely, overlooking the universality of the driving force to which they yielded and ignorant of the ultimate triumph of Christian grace among them. This triumph was so signal as to set apart the place where the most important step was taken toward its consummation.

Once more we are at the intersection of Dayton and West Streets, at the George Peabody farm. This was opened by Carolina John Putnam, son of Nathaniel, in 1681. Here Amos Putnam, the New Salem pioneer, was born. The farm has also been the home of Prestons and Popes and Peabodys. The house was a notable specimen of the old New England type and stood for more than two hundred years, being burned in 1904. Carolina John Putnam, its first occupant, was constable in witchcraft times and had considerable part in the proceedings, though there is evidence that some of his tasks were distasteful to him. But none of this prevented

his house from becoming the scene of a wonderful advance toward the reconciliation of embittered factions and the establishment of Christian harmony. Parson Joseph Green, the minister who, little more than a boy, succeeded Samuel Parris as pastor of the Village Church, made it his first endeavor after beginning his work to heal the wounds of the witchcraft strife. Certain brethren named below had had grievous conflict with Mr. Parris and had ceased to commune with the church. High feeling had been engendered. Pastor and people met in preparation for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the home of Carolina John Putnam November 25, 1698. Mr. Green, in his diary, writes— "After the exercise I desired the church to manifest by the usual sign that they were so cordially satisfied with their brethren, Thomas Wilkins, John Tarbell and Samuel Nurse, that they were heartily desirous that they would join with us in all ordinances, that so we might all live lovingly together. This they consented unto, and none made any objection, but voted it by lifting up their hands. And further that whatever articles they had drawn up against these brethren formerly, they now looked upon them as nothing, but let them fall to the ground, being willing that they should be buried forever."

That these overtures were effective is revealed by Mr. Green's note of Feb. 5, 1699 wherein he records that the forenamed brethren with their wives "joined us in the Lord's Supper; which is a matter of thankfulness."

While the Carolina John Putnam farm has much to distinguish it in the character of the families which have lived upon it and the men who have gone out from it, to me its supreme interest lies in the fact that here were registered the restoration of the people of Salem Village to sanity and sobriety and a memorable victory of Christian love. Let those who would know the whole truth as regards our ancestors and the witchcraft delusion read the earlier chapter in the light of all that is symbolized by this Christian expression and accomplishment. The wrongs imposed upon a portion of the community had been so great, the injustice so deep, and the resulting resentment so violent and bitter, that only a spiritual miracle could restore harmony and good will. That this miracle was effected speaks volumes for the character and innate quality of the people and invests with lasting interest the place where outward expression of it was given.

Perhaps here too should be set up a tablet of memorial.

## IV. NOTED INDIVIDUALS OF A LATER DAY

Space permits me to speak of only two under this heading but those two are men we cannot pass by. The first is

## GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM.

General Putnam's birthplace is known to the public. Moreover it does not come under our topic "cellar holes," as the house is still standing. But not far from it, in the angle between Preston Street and an attractive old lane leading down to the Hathorne post office on Maple Street, is where he took his young bride, Hannah Pope, in 1739, and where also their first child came to them. Parting the bushes one looks into the old cellar with feelings almost akin to those with which he views the room in which the great soldier was born. Though he lived here only a year before removing to Connecticut, this was the scene of his romance and here he built the first home that was distinctly his own. While the tablet upon the birthplace is sufficient in the way of a local memorial, this old cellar hole on Preston Street, with its intimate association with the young manhood of Israel Putnam should not be permitted to sink from out our ken.

One other figure under this heading is that of

## JUDGE SAMUEL HOLTEN.

There is no need to recount here the story of his character and service to church, community, state and nation. In the field of civic concerns he is the revered figure of all our history. Happily the house that he honored with his presence for many years has been preserved for us and is now owned by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. It will be properly cared for in the future.

But the site of his birth is known to a comparatively small number. It is to be found near the line of the present Prince Street about where Garden Street opens out of it, though on which side of Prince it stood we are unable to determine. It can, however, be located within a very small range. Here Samuel Holten was born June 9, 1738. The house was an inn known as the "Holten Hotel" and was built by the Judge's grandfather, Henry Holten. The Judge's father, Samuel, lived here till 1750 and then removed to the present "Holten" house where the son Samuel spent the remainder of his years. The birthplace long since disappeared.

Memorials to Judge or Doctor Holten are not wanting in our town. The dignified old homestead where he lived the



major part of his life serves as a reminder of his worth and the town high school, which bears his name, will always keep his memory green. These may be enough—and yet—there is no inscription on their walls and the stranger passing through finds nothing to arrest his attention. Even our own people must learn the facts by inquiry or dig them out from printed pages. How appropriate then, perhaps I should say, how imperative, that there be somewhere a tablet recounting the story of his life and achievements! It might be placed on the street near his birthplace or, possibly better, on the walls of the old house now standing. But wheresoever it be put, let it indicate the spot where he first saw the light and where the larger part of his childhood was passed. We owe it to ourselves as truly as to him to do this.

#### IN SUMMARY

As I draw our study to a close I feel regret that so much must be left unsaid. I have tried to select features of dominant interest and yet there are others which crowd upon me demanding to be set forth. All over our town there are places no longer marked as human habitations once the homes of notable men and women which might well be pointed out.

Especially in the early years homesteads were established to which great interest attaches which I have not so much as mentioned. Some of them, it may seem, have rightful place in a paper of this kind. As to such I can only say that, while I cannot include them in my study, the fact that they rise in such numbers demonstrates the riches of our historic lore. My dominant impression, as I have engaged in this work, has been the greatness of our background as a people and of the inspirations which come down to us from our past.

Coincident with that feeling has been the recognition of our continuity as a community. The mystic bygone figures were to a large extent the fathers of those now here. And if others have come among us who are not of this ancient lineage they have found here and perhaps been moulded by the spirit of the men of former days, preserved in its integrity by the strength of the original impulse.

Ought we not as a people to dwell more fully in the past that we draw from it all it holds of instruction—and then in accordance with the ancient injunction

“Tell it to the generations following?”

## NECROLOGY.

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CAPTAIN ELDRIDGE F. SMALL, late of Danvers, died at his home, East Orleans, Mass., on April 8, 1926. He was born in Barnstable county, Cape Cod, 83 years ago, his early life was on the sea in the fishing and merchant service. During the Civil war he was in the navy having been commissioned as acting master, serving on the West Gulf squadron. Later he was captain of the racing yachts, "Rebecca" and "Mayflower," and builder and master of the auxiliary yacht, "Constance," owned by William A. Gardner of Beverly Farms. Captain Small was past commander of Ward Post No. 90, Grand Army of the Republic. He was a citizen of the most sterling character and highly esteemed in every community.

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ROLAND G. EATON, who passed away on May 7, 1926, was born in this town forty-nine years ago, the son of Everett E. and Almira (Smart) Eaton. He was a graduate of the Holten High School and of Dartmouth College. He was a member of the local Masonic bodies and several years ago was prominent in town affairs, serving on the board of selectmen for several years. He had always owned more or less real estate in the town and erected the brick building now located at the corner of Cherry and Maple streets known as the King building, formerly the Eaton block. For many years Mr. Eaton was associated with the Library Bureau of Boston, holding an executive position with this concern. A few years ago he moved to Springfield with his family to take charge of the office of the Library Bureau in that city. He was later transferred to act in a similar capacity in their Cleveland office and only recently returned to his native town on account of his health. He leaves a widow and two sons.

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CLARENCE HERMAN MILLETT died on July 7, 1926. Mr. Millett was born in Salem, the son of the late Joseph Hardy Millett, Jr., and Martha Isabel (McKenzie) Millett, and was in his 65th year. He graduated from the Salem High School and afterwards entered the employ of Lee, Higginson & Co., of Boston, where he remained several years. About fifteen years ago he entered the Naumkeag Trust Co. of Salem, and at the time of his death was the manager of the Safe Deposit department of the company. At the time of the Salem conflagration he resided on Lafayette street and his house was destroyed. He then moved to Danvers, where he had since made his home. He was a member of

the Salem Marine society. He married Miss Myrtilla Dwight of New Bedford and she survives him. Mr. Millett was one of the officers of the Historical Society and always interested in its welfare.

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THOMAS WENTWORTH PEIRCE, who passed away on October 7, 1926, son of George H. and Sarah J. (Niles) Peirce of Dover, N. H. On his father's side he was descended from Governor Thomas Wentworth of New Hampshire and was the second to be given that middle name. His uncle, also Thomas Wentworth Peirce, built the eastern section of the Southern Pacific railroad in Texas. Deceased attended the public schools of Dover and began his preparation for college at Phillips Andover academy. But his uncle took him from his studies and started him on a railroad career in Texas. In a very short time he became his uncle's personal representative in the Lone Star state, Col. Peirce devoting his time and his energies to the financing of his railroad projects, both in this country and in England. He was unmarried.

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MRS. LOUISA (KING) ROPES, wife of Willis H. Ropes of Danvers, died on November 8, 1926, at 33 Summer street, Salem, where she and her husband were to pass the winter, in her 68th year. She was born in Peabody, a daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Farley. She leaves besides her husband, three daughters, Mrs. Stillman Williams of Winchester, Mrs. Leslie Coleman of Toronto, Can., and Miss Lucy Ropes. She was a member of the First Unitarian church of Salem. Mrs. Ropes was a particularly fine type of woman and during her residence in Danvers made a host of friends, who will sincerely mourn her loss. She was a member of the Gen. Israel Putnam Chapter, D. A. R., the Danvers Woman's Association, the Historical Society and other social organizations.

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FRED B. OAKES of Princeton, N. J., formerly of Danvers, died on January 10, 1927. Mr. Oakes was the youngest son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Oakes of this town. In early life he was connected with the firm of J. W. Bishop Co., contractors in Boston and Providence. For the past twenty-five years he has resided in Princeton, N. J., owning and managing a large farm there. He leaves a sister, Mrs. Charles H. Warren of Danvers, three brothers, George P. and Charles S., of California, and Joseph C. of Providence, R. I., and a number of nieces and nephews.

Early in the morning of Monday, Feb. 21, 1927, Miss ANNIE SYLVANA PORTER, oldest daughter of John W. Porter, Esq., ninth in descent from John Porter (1643) of Danvers and lineal descendant of John Endicott, one of the earliest settlers of Salem, passed from her earthly life at her home on Holten street at the age of 61. Her entire life was spent in Danvers where she was widely known and deeply respected. Miss Porter was a woman of marked intelligence and strength of character. Through her personality shone the fine Christian graces of faith, fortitude and spiritual discernment. She was a member of the Danvers Historical society and of the Danvers Women's association, and for many years a devoted member of the Maple Street Congregational church. Ever since she graduated as valedictorian of the class of 1883 in the local High school she had been in fragile health, but in her the life of the spirit had uniformly triumphed over her bodily infirmities. Miss Porter is survived by a brother, J. Endicott Porter of Yonkers, N. Y., and two sisters, Mrs. Sarah P. Ewing of Sanford, Me., and Miss Martha P. Porter of Danvers; also by her aunt, Mrs. Warren Porter of Danvers.

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ALBERT N. PARLIN, prominent business man and benefactor to the city of Everett, died at his home, 103 Thorne-dike street, Brookline, March 15, 1927, at the age of seventy-eight years. He was connected with many organization interests in New York and Boston. He was born in Everett on the site of the public library which he created as the Frederick E. Parlin Memorial in honor of his son. Within the last few years he gave a fund of \$75,000 for the library and for the Albert E. Parlin Junior High school, attended by 2200 pupils, he set aside a fund of \$50,000. When he was five years old his mother, Nancy (Pickering) Parlin, died, and his father, Ezra Weld Parlin, died a few years later. When he was twenty-seven years old he was appointed treasurer of the Magee Furnace Company and later became treasurer of the Library Bureau. He was a director of the Hamilton National Bank and of the Houston, Tex., Electric Street Railway, of which he was also a former president and treasurer. He also had been president of the Chicago, Ohio River railroad, a director of the Cleveland & Canton railroad, director of the New England Storage Warehouse Company and interested in other organizations. He held membership in the Algonquin, Country and Union Clubs. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Suzanne H. (Hay) Parlin. Mr. Parlin lived for some years in Putnamville.



JOHN ALBERT BLAKE, a native of this town, died at his home in Malden, Saturday, November 29, 1926, after a brief illness. He was in his 84th year, having been born April 15, 1843, the son of John and Adeline (Reid) Blake.

He married Miss Abby D. Hyde of and in Danvers, Dec. 13, 1868, and made his home here about 20 years thereafter, the domicile for much of the time being at 7 Oak street. Besides his widow he leaves three children, Albert N. and Ernest H. of Boston and Caroline, wife of Walter E. Chick of Harrisburg, Pa.; also a brother, Wilbur C. Blake of Wollaston, and a sister, Mrs. Nathaniel Shatswell, of Salem.

Although his business and Masonic activities took him away from Danvers the past forty years, he never lost interest in his home town. He was regular in his attendance upon the Memorial day exercises of Ward Post 90, G. A. R., of which he was past commander, and could be usually counted upon at the more important functions of Amity lodge, A. F. and A. M., of which he was the senior past master. He marched from the G. A. R. hall to the Institute last Memorial day and was an honored guest and one of the principal speakers at the dedication of the new Masonic Temple in June.

After graduating from the public schools Mr. Blake took up the shoe business and early in life, just after the Civil war, was a salesman for C. C. Farwell & Co., which firm manufactured shoes in the Spaulding building, now the Central Fire station, at the junction of Maple and Locust streets. In the firm beside Mr. Farwell, at that time was the late Henry M. Merrill. Later Herbert Farwell, the son, and John C. Campbell were partners. In the late 80's deceased removed to Haverhill and began the manufacture of shoes with his brother, Wilbur F. Blake, under the firm name of Blake Bros. He later organized the J. A. Blake Co., and took the agency for the St. Croix Shoe Co., of Calais, Me.

He represented the town one year in the state legislature serving in the house in 1878.

He enlisted from Danvers in the U. S. Navy in 1863 and served on the frigate New Ironsides, which belonged to the South Atlantic squadron. For nearly a year this battleship was stationed in the harbor at Charleston, S. C.

The ship took part in the capture of Forts Wagner and Gregg and the attack on Fort Sumter. The bombardment of Sullivan's Island while the rebels held it was an almost daily occurrence. On his return to Danvers in 1864 he

was enrolled in an infantry company organized by the late Capt. Benjamin E. Newhall and served as sergeant. Had the war continued this company would have been mustered into the service.

He was one of the charter members of Ward Post 90, G. A. R., soon rose to be commander and during his stay in town was one of the most active workers in its ranks. He also served on the staff of a department commander and during the years when the parade of Essex county posts was an annual feature he was one of the leaders.

His Masonic career covered 60 years and included service as the head of about every subordinate organization in the great order. He had also served as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter of Massachusetts and Grand Commander of the Massachusetts Commandery. He had been at the head of several of the Scottish Rite bodies and he was a 33d degree Mason, the only one from Danvers. He was the Sitting Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter Royal Arch Masons of the United States.

For 20 years or more he had given his entire time and energy, up to almost the very day of his death, to the fraternity, being the active head of the Masonic home just outside of Worcester. His title was Relief Commissioner, and he made his headquarters at the office of the Masonic Board of Relief, Room 207, Masonic Temple, Boston. His home had been in Malden since he gave up the shoe business in Haverhill, but he spent much of his time at the Masonic home.

He was raised in Amity lodge of Danvers July 13, 1866, and was master in 1877 and 1878 and district deputy grand master in 1889, '90 and '91. In local capitular Masonry he had been head of Holten chapter and district deputy grand high priest.

He commanded Winslow Lewis commandery of Salem in 1882, '83, '84 and '85.

The life of Mr. Blake was unusual in that it was filled with activity up to the very end. At an age when most men retire he was just entering upon his greatest work as Relief Commissioner at the Masonic home. And at 83 he was made Grand High Priest of the Grand chapter, Royal Arch Masons of the United States. He thus held the strong friendships of his youth and added more with each passing year.

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